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AN ANONYMOUS RENAISSANCE PYGMALION PLAYLET (RAWLINSON MS D317, 190r-195r)

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I

ASCRUTINY of the mode in which an author interprets or "uses" a classical legend has often provided a valuable clue to the aesthetic and social values which the author entertains. It has been well said that a study of the different modes of Vergilian interpretation provides a history of Western taste:

Interpretation of the *Aeneid* is a barometer which registers changes in the thought-climate of Western civilization. The Middle Ages knew Vergil as a man of mystery, a magician; modern scholarship analyzes him as an artist and philosopher; but the Renaissance adored him as an author of divine allegory, a pilgrim's progress of heroic souls. . . .¹

Several useful studies have been made of the different treatments of the same classical tale or legend—notably Professor E. S. Le Comte's study of the Endymion legend in English literature.²

During the Renaissance in England, as well as on the Continent, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* were regarded as a "Bible of Art,"³ a treasure-trove from which could be pilfered material for both poet⁴ and artist,

¹ A. C. Brinton, *Mapheus Vegius and his thirteenth book of the "Aeneid"* (Stanford University Press, 1930), p. v.

² *Endymion in England* (New York, 1944); cf. also Julius Wirl, *Orpheus in der englischen Literatur* ("Wiener Beiträge zur englischen Philologie," Vol. XL [Vienna and Leipzig, 1913]). Such studies are related to investigations of the influence of a classical author in toto, e.g., R. T. Kerlin, *Theocritus in English literature* (Lynchburg, Va., 1910).

despite the stricture of "bawdy charms" which rigid moralists advanced or the stricture of "formlessness" which rigid neoclassical critics placed on his alleged disregard of the unities of time, place, and action. One of the most popular tales was the Pygmalion legend (*Met.* x. 243-69). At a later date Dryden in his *Fables* bracketed it with the Atalanta legend as "among the best."

A modern classical scholar regards the Pygmalion legend as "the finest apologue on the marvel of creative imagination" and sees in the disgust and consequent antifeminism which Pygmalion experienced at the heinous behavior of the Pro-poetides (*Met.* x. 220-42) and which impelled him to create the statue an analogue to the career of Ovid himself, who was "shocked into creative idealism by the depravity which he witnessed in actual life."⁵

³ The phrase is Rand's (see E. K. Rand, *Ovid and his influence* [Boston, 1925], p. 150). C. H. Haskins (*The Renaissance of the twelfth century* [Cambridge, Mass., 1928], p. 107) noted that during the Middle Ages Ovid was next in popularity, among classical authors, to Vergil.

⁴ The best recent study of Ovid's influence during the English Renaissance is that of Davis P. Harding, *Milton and the Renaissance Ovid* ("University of Illinois studies in language and literature," XXX, No. 4 [1946]); older studies are those of C. B. Cooper, *Some Elizabethan opinions of the poetry and character of Ovid* (Menasha, Wis., 1914); Leo Rick, *Ovids Metamorphosen in der englischen Renaissance* (Münster i. W., 1915).

⁵ Hermann Frankel, *Ovid: a poet between two worlds* (University of California Press, 1945), pp. 96, 35; a useful review of modern criticism of Ovid will

A few notes on the different values which different English authors have seen in the Pygmalion legend may be in order, although the brief scope of this paper forbids extended comment. In Gower, *Confessio amantis*, Book IV, lines 371-450, in keeping with the medieval courtly love atmosphere, the tale serves as an example of a lover who succeeds through beseeching and obtaining the aid of Venus: "And if he wolde have holde him stille / And nothing spoke, he scholde have failed." To Caxton and Golding, translators of the *Metamorphoses* into English in ca. 1480 and 1565-67, respectively, the legend is but a sprightly story;⁶ to John Marston in 1598, on the other hand, it is the inspiration of a lush, sensuous Elizabethan love poem, characteristic of the "Venus and Adonis" decade between 1590 and 1600.⁷

To that chill utilitarian, Francis Bacon, Pygmalion's "frenzy" was a "good emblem" of the vanity of the scholastic distemper of studying words and not matter.⁸ To Dryden it was a sound fable, and that sufficed; but to James Thomson (*The castle of indolence*, Book II, st. xiii) it served to illustrate a basic need of eighteenth-century civilization—that of polishing and "improving" nature in the raw. Until the time of G. B. Shaw, in such Victorian poets as William Morris or Andrew Lang the legend was treated in a romantic, pastoral vein, with some feminist coloration. Shaw, however, in his abrupt manner, ignores such tradition and focuses most of his attention on the sociological question: Should a man marry be-

neath him?⁹ and thus carries further a social interest adumbrated in Immermann's *Der neue Pygmalion* of 1825.¹⁰

II

The present paper makes available a hitherto unpublished anonymous Latin Pygmalion play preserved uniquely in Bodleian MS Rawlinson D317, folios 190r-195r. This manuscript is a miscellany which formerly belonged to Thomas Hearne; he obtained the *Pygmalion* item on August 12, 1709.¹¹ It enlarges the Ovidian account by some 206 lines, introduces new characters and situations, and treats the legend in a fanciful, romantic vein,¹² while glancing at several Elizabethan conventions and attitudes which are described in the footnotes. I regard it as an example of romantic Hellenism which reaches its zenith in such a poem as Keats's "Ode on a Grecian Urn." It certainly constitutes an interesting document in the history of the Pygmalion legend in England.

It is probably an academic product, from the pen of an Oxford or Cambridge don. There is no record of performance or internal evidence to help in affixing a date of composition. The Italianate handwriting is clearly of the seventeenth century; and the manuscript items which precede and follow the text are of 1645. Hence a limit of 1630-50 may be conjectured; Professor Alfred Harbage, in his *Annals of*

⁶ G. B. Shaw's *Pygmalion* first appeared in *Everybody's magazine*, Vol. XXXI, No. 5 (November, 1914).

⁷ Archer Taylor, *Problems in German literary history of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries* (New York, 1939), pp. 104-6.

⁸ Cf. W. D. Macray, *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae*, Pars V, Fasc. III, col. 153; the Bodleian *Summary catalogue of western manuscripts*, ed. F. Madan (Oxford, 1905), V, 316, merely gives the number of the MS.

⁹ Francis Meres, in 1598, observed that the "sweet witty soul of Ovid lives in mellifluous and honey-tongued Shakespeare"; cf., further, S. G. Owen, "Ovid and romance," in G. S. Gordon (ed.), *English literature and the classics* (Oxford, 1912); and Douglas Bush's contention (*Mythology and the Renaissance tradition in English poetry* [Minneapolis, 1932], p. 297) that "the English genius has been incurably romantic."

be found in T. F. Higham, "Ovid: Some aspects of his character and aims," *Classical review*, XLVIII (July, 1934), 105 ff.

⁶ Cf. *Tottel's miscellany: 1557-1587*, ed. H. E. Rollins (Cambridge, Mass., 1928-29), I, 125-26, wherein an anonymous versifier likewise treats the legend as a "sprightly story."

⁷ Cf. *The works of John Marston*, ed. A. H. Bullen (London, 1887), III, 247-62.

⁸ *The advancement of learning*, I, iii, 3a ("Everyman" ed., p. 25).

English drama: 975-1700 (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1940) does not attempt to date this *Pygmalion* text. The handwriting of the manuscript is fine and spidery, and several readings are doubtful. The ink on the upper part of folio 190r, and in all of folio 194r, is badly faded. There is one important correction: a line following line 192 has been deleted; and there are a few minor alterations. These changes argue that the manuscript represents a second, rather than a first, draft and that it may be holograph. Although my transcription is not strictly diplomatic, since I have added some punctuation and capitalization to aid the evident sense, I have not tampered with the text but have relegated any editorial suggestions as to textual melioration to the

notes. Expansions of abbreviations in the body of the text are printed in italics, as are the stage directions at the beginnings of different scenes and the names of the speakers.

The most conspicuous feature of the Latinity is the tendency to write an analytical rather than an inflected language. For example, in line 252 we should expect *conjugem* instead of *conjux*. Line 106 reads: *Nam foemina omnis statua quam mundus colit*; instead of emending *foemina omnis statua* to accusative, I insert a dash between *statua* and *quam*, and construe, "O every statue of womanhood—how the world cherishes you!" This tendency is, of course, noticeable in both medieval and Renaissance Latin because of the pervading influence of the vernacular.

PYGMALION

(190r)

*Ingreditur Pygmalion solus.*Actus i^m: Scena j^a

- | | |
|----|---|
| 1 | O quam beatus ipse Pygmalion Duces
Sis inter alios; caeca qui caeci Dej
Ne jura nosti; tela sensisti minus.
Sydere sub almo nemo te natum neget: |
| 5 | Solus ego liber cum jugo oppressi gemant
Reges potentes; immo sum major Joue
Alijsque Diuis blanda quos probris Venus
Onerat nefandis; quis hominum insecitiam potest |
| 10 | Satis explicare qui suo fato impares
Cum debuerunt regere misere inseruiunt.
At proh stoliditas; ille qui terram quatit
Hastis acutis (credis hoc posse effici?)
Amore capitur; ergo non mirum est viri
Delira superum exempla si nimium colant. |
| 15 | Admiror ipse cur furor cogit sequi
(Non ratio poscit) turpe foemineum genus:
Rixosa mulier, foedifraga, petulans, furens,
Frata, varia, immitis, intractabilis.
Vel nomen odi. Si labor tantum viris |
| 20 | Magis placeret, grauis amor premeret minus. |

5 That all Elizabethans believed in astrology to some extent is the contention of D. C. Allen, *The star-crossed Renaissance* (Durham, N.C., 1941).

15 ff. This antifeminine attitude of Pygmalion is found in Ovid, of course, but it is likewise found in Elizabethan England (cf. L. B. Wright, *Middle-class culture in Elizabethan England* [Chapel Hill, 1935], esp. pp. 465-507; F. L. Utey, *The crooked rib* [Columbus, Ohio, 1944], s.vv. "Ovid," "Venus," "Cupid").

18 frata = freta.

- Ingred: Duae foeminae.*
 25 Lasciua tollas otia, et languet Venus.
 Sed ecce monstra; pectus aspectu tumet.
 Quam rarus habitus; quam parum gestus decens;
 Quam forma mire picta; ridicula omnia.
 Sit ratio certa; situe consuetus furor,
 Odisse placuit illud in festum genus.

(190v)

Scena 2 *

Ingred. Priscilla; Moria;

- 27 *Mo:* Num certa narras. *P.* Moria, incertum nihil,
 Namque ipse partem simiae caudae, Domi
 Reseruo, quam venefica infanti dedit.
 30 *Ego* verba memini: munus haud inquit leue est
 Namque alia pars Lucretiam apud Orcum trahit.
M. An illa virgo? *P.* Mortua est quoniam virum
 Nohuit. *M.* Et hercle non mihi arident viri,
 Sed tamen iniquas simias odi magis.
 35 *Priscilla* (si modestia salua loquar)
 Honesta mallet, Moria, haud virgo mori
 Quam sic in Orco simiae caudam sequi.
Pyg. Quam simiarum haec verba sunt, quam simiae
 Ipsae videntur. *P.* Sed tace. *Pyg.* Num me vident?
 40 *Pris.* Saluere te Priscilla Pygmalion iubet.
Pyg. Saluere nolo. *Mor.* Dij vetent; quis te furor
 Vexat nefandus. *P[yg.]* Tu furia in misem opprimis.
 Valet monstra. *P.* Vxore quam multum hic caret.
Mor. Profecto multum meque sic planctus mouet
 45 *Vt ipsa* conjux esse dignarer viri.
Pris. Turba meliorum conjugum occurrit foro.

Ingreditur Venus, et Cupido in templo.

- Ven.* Qui fit Cupido (victor inuictus Deum),
 Cujus vel ipsum torret indomitis Jouem
 Fax clara flammis; ejus infractos Deis
 50 *Opifex* sonori fulminis calamos timet,
 Volasque coelis pariter et terris potens:
 Impunè spernat tela Pygmalion tua.
 53 *Cup.* Ast ipse noui cur meas fugiat faces;
 Annosque totos coelibi vitae dicet
 55 *Connubia* vitet, facile me vinci putat
 At captus igni sentiet fortem satis.
Ven. Dilecte fili, jam placent arcus tui,
 Calamique nobis jam ferunt summum decus
 Tentemus animum, nate, mittamus faces.
 60 *Cupid.* Meus iste labor est, flectere immitis viri
 Animum ferocem penitus incumbit mihi.

(191r)

28 partem simiae caudae . . .]. The superstition that old maids would be compelled to lead apes in hell was an Elizabethan commonplace (e.g., *The taming of the shrew*, II, I, 34).

43 misem = mitem.

- Ven. Ergo age, Puer, agilis sagittas spargito.
 Deturque flammis nullus insanis modus
 Prematur aestu insolito, et inclusus graui
 65 Ipso innotescat haud levis vultu furor.
 Artusque vexet angor, et gressus labent.
 Figatur ictu, conficiat animum dolor.
 Sic qui probandum non tulit venerem prius
 Venerem nefandam nunc feret, et ignem nouum.
 70 Cup. Mihi chara mater iussa delectant tua.
 Mouenda jam sunt vella, Pygmalion sciet
 Cupido quanta, quanta Cythareis potest.

*Incred. Pygmalion aperiens conclaue
 vbi serui cum imagine*

- Pyg. Sic sic amorem pellete, et Veneris dolos.
 Lasciuam alij, foeminas alij colant,
 75 Nos arte delectemur, ars nobis amor
 Labor voluptas, sic opus dum fingimus
 Sortem licebit fingere, est etenim suae
 Ingenuus vnusquisque fortunae faber.
 Sic sic ministri facite delitias meas
 (191v)
 80 Ne forte Stygijs capiat illecabris amor.
 Opus peractum est, sedulam curam probo:
 Sed quid? Lituras conspicio nondum satis.
 Polita frons est, nasus haud rectus satis,
 Oculi strabones, et labia pendent nimis.
 85 Tantumne vobis (miror) incitiam dabant
 Natura et vsus, currite et caelum date. (*caelat*)
 2^a Ser: Vix credo quisquam coniugi inseruit magis
 Quam Dominus iste noster huic imagine.
 Pyg. Est lentus, et non pertinax vultus satis
 90 Ferte huc colores optimos, pheu hic color
 Nimis est remissus, viuudum et roseum date;
 Vt erubescant, vel sua specie deae.
 Vbi penicillae? Nemon? Hic astans feret.
 Quid otiosi statis? Am: Hic praesto adsumus.
 95 Pyg: Afferte limam, circinum, et amussim date. (*caelat*)
 2^a Ser: Perficere statuit dominus ad amussim omnia.
 Pygmal. Sic sic peritum fingere artificem decet.
 Videte quam sit splendidus formae decor,
 Curate ne quis Lesbiae accedat meae.
 100 Si forte tangat quispiam mortem luat
 Curate diligentius, et ipse interim
 Gemmas nitentes, donaque et vestes feram. (*Exit*)
 3^a Ser: Herusne noster deperit statuam suam.
 2^a Quidni? facit idem quod alij faciunt, magis

- 105 Fortasse cautè, imagines quis non amat?
 Nam foemina omnis statua—quam mundus colit.
 Quodcunque fuerit spero ridiculum fore.
 Sed conticesce, redijt. *Pyg*: En vestes tibi (192r)
- 110 *j^{us}* Induite, donec ista quae desunt feram. (*Exit*)
 Odit mulieres Dominus, et merito quidem
 Nam sumptuosae sunt nimis, vestes nouas
 Nouasque nugas indies quaerunt, volunt;
 Ast ista virgo veste contenta vnica.
 115 Aliae loquaces sunt nimis, nimium obstrepunt,
 Haec conticescit; caeterae frontes solent
 Rugare, blanda semper haec, semper nitens.
 Quis ergo nollet colere. *2^{us}*: Quin taceas, venit.
Pygmal. O quam puellae candidae vestes decent
 Ornata nec dum corpore est toto satis:
 120 Hic habeo gemmas, auribus baccae leues
 Collo monile, ac annulos digitis tuis
 Vtrique manui, quas dabo, armillas habe.
 Nec adhuc amare desinam, at semper colam.
 125 *1^{us}* Et plura, (telus plura si dederit) faram
 Stultitia quam ridicula. *2^{us}*: Sic quisque in suo
 Delirat opere, cuique formosum est suum.
 Amasse saepe audiuius multos canes
 Alios auiculas, vita inest istis, sonue.
 Sed ante Dominum nemo marmor mortuum (192v)
- 130 Amauit vnquam, quò nouus tendit furor.
 Sed redijt iterum onustus. *Pyg*. En plura attuli
 Teretes lapillos, paruulos volucres, pilas
 Et vulsa poma ex arborum ramis tibi,
 Vel flaua quercus mella sudabunt tibi.
 135 Sic sic amabo, talibus tempus jocis
 Nos conteremus, dexteram junges meae,
 Exosculabor, et tibi quicquid siet
 Mihiue gratum, candidas tradam in manus
 Et ne fatigem, terminum ponam tuo
 140 Virgo labori, particeps lecto veni
 Et lassa somni membra delitijs leua.

121 collo monile], Ovid *Met.* x. 264.121 MS has a four-letter word deleted before *tuis*.122 MS has a word deleted before *habe*.

127 canes], i.e., "hunting."

128 auiculas = "birds"; cf. J. H. Baxter and C. Johnson, *Medieval Latin word list from British and Irish sources* (London, 1934).128 sonue]. Probably read *sonus* and construe *canes* and *auiculas* as genitive plurals. However, *sonue* may be an error for *sonaue*.129 marmor]. The material used in the Ovidian account was *ebor*; Maude Beamer (*Greek art in Ovid's poems* [Missouri diss., 1936], p. 37) notes that the term "ivory" was used in Ovid's time to describe "even ordinary statues counted by the thousands."132 teretes lapillos], *Met.* x, 260.

- 1st Ser. Satis ipsa dura est molli eget lecto. *Pyg*: cubes
Molliter amica. 2nd Frigida est consors thori.
Pyg. Demiror opifer sculptilis formam mei:
145 Vtinam (fateri si licet) mulier foret.
Dicata Paphiae cras venit Veneri dies
Qua multae ad aras concidunt ictae boues
Vbi miserorum verbaque et vota excipit.
Cras mane primo confugiam ad aras Deae
150 Ibi vota soluam, et supplices fundam preces

Et consecrabo (si velit) munus Deae. (*Exeunt*)

Incred. Sacerdos; et Moria et Priscilla
ad aras Veneris.
Sacer: Haec fausta lux est, haec dies Veneris dies,
Haec templa gaudent Veneris aspectu Deae
Araeque fumant Diua cum colitur Paphi.
155 Ast ipse miror causa quid tandem fuit
Quod Diua Cypri splendor istius decens
Fani quod olim thure flagrabat pio
Neglecta nimium friget et miseré perit.
Haud verga fingo, Veneris (expertus loquor)
160 Onusta donis ara vel nimium fuit.
Incred. Mo: Sed ecce virgo blanda, jam tandem venit
Ornata donis, quam potens ignis premit
Cujus medullae penitus inuadit furor.
Quae jura Veneris scire mirificé cupit.
165 *Mor*. Ô Diua splendens, liceat ante aras tuas
Prodire timide virginem, liceat meum
Offerre donum quod meam aetatem decet.
Rosa est, et ipsa nitida virginitas rosa est
Sed vt rosa ista (nemo si carpat) perit.
170 Sic virgo subito: caetera effari pudet.
Tu diua tantum parce vel subito virum
Concede vel (proh misera) quid faciet pudor.
Sacer: Adhuc nimis tenella, nec satis es viro

(193v)

Matura, iam discede, post annum redi.
175 *Mor*. Nolens volensque Diua tua iussa exequor,
Sed annus iste quam mihi futurus grauis. (*Exit*)
Pris: Quam mané primo odoro mihi faueas Dea
Quam nocte tota somnio, o adsis Venus
Amica, miserae virginis capias preces
180 Sum misera qua sum virgo, tu tantum virum
Concede, quis et non refert dum vir siet.

147 ictae boues]. *Met.* x. 272.177 MS reads *prima odoro* (?); apparently an *o* has been written over a double *r* at the start of the second word. Perhaps the author intended one word, such as *primordio* (i.e., "at the commencement"), or *primo odoro* (i.e., "at the first breath of dawn"), which is the reading I propose; either adverbial term would fit the context.

- Foemineus amor est, omnis impatiens morae.
 Ni fuero conjux nulla sim, thura offero
 Aurum^{que} libo, thus redolet, aurum micat
 185 Tibi ista spero, vir mihi summe placet.
Sacerd. Assurge virgo nam Dea roganti annuit.
 Secunda vxor esse aut nulla vis; primum Dea
 Vult te esse nullam, reliqua vt expectes placet
 Hic ante numen victima occumbas sacra.
 190 *Morit: Pris.* O morior. *Sac.* et mors virginis Veneri placet:
 Cortina in ista molliter ponas caput.
 Fortasse vitam cum viro reddet Dea.

Ingrid. Pygmalion cum servis portandibus
statuam ad templa Veneris
Pyg. Si talis et tam grata cum sit lapis,
 Qualis placet viua: cur viuam expeto?
 195 Forsan placeret tum minus, vt aliae solent.
 Magis esse dignam viua quam vt fias reor.

 Nam si daretur vita, mors etiam grauis
 Inde sequeretur, si modo necesse est mori
 Non viuat, o si liberam vitae malis
 200 Viuere daretur, quam mihi placeret Dea.
 Moritura nunquam statua, sic reliquis satis
 Marmorea quod sis foeminis melior viges.
 Tibi si daretur vita, foeminei tibi
 Mores darentur; commodum haec ferret mala.
 205 Morosa fieres, saeua, difficilis, dolis
 Armata blandis; marmor haec nescit mala.
 Sed quid moraris anime? quid dubius labes.
 Velles amicam viuere, et nolles mori.
 Iniqua vota nullus exaudit Deus.
 210 Venerem inuocaba: sed magis marmor placet.
 Pergam (reflectit statua) sed pergam tamen
 Et hic ad aras numini munus dabo.
 Abite famuli solus vt fundam preces.
Seruus Pro se precetur Dominus vt sapiat magis. (*Exeunt serui*)
 215 *Pyg:* Venus alma Cyprum blanda quae Idaliam colis,
 (Num irata statua est) sacra cui fulget dies,
 Cui plena donis ara thuricrema calet:
 Per tela et arcus, per tuos ignes precor
 Vt viua fiat statua; per venas calor
 220 Vadat refusus, sanguis in faciem meet.
 Motumque et animum precibus accipiat meis

187 secunda]. MS reads 2^a:

192 MS has a deleted line assigned to the Sacerdos, the first four words of which read: "vixisse cum te obtineo. . . ." The last three words are illegible.

211, 216 The parenthetical phrases within the body of Pygmalion's speech are to be read as stage directions indicating the response of the statue of Venus.

221 MS has a four-letter word deleted before *tamen*.

Vt osculari viuidam possim; tamen
Semel osculabor (statua) dum marmor manes.

(194v)

225

vereque vivit, tarda
procedit fides credenda
tarde vera quae tan-
tum iuuant.

230

*Sacer.**Virgo*

235

Virg:

240

245

Virgo

250

Pyg.

255

Quid hoc? an istud marmor est? solito magis
Mollia videntur labra, mollescunt genae
Aut potius ego sum mollis, heu fallor miser.
Iterum osculabor, aut meus solito magis
Feruescit amor, aut statua feruescit magis.
Iterum osculabor; viuit: an viuit tamen.
Sed ecce motum video, proh numen sacrum
Si vota flectant, si pias audis preces
Concede vocis organa; et credam omnia.
Quicquid precaris ecce Pygmalion habes.
Quae sim? vel ubi sum. (proh pudor) video virum.
Cor friget intus, et pedes rigidi nimis.
Quis fascinauit, tunc? *Pyg.* Quin surgas Dea,
Quis credet etenim genere te humano satam
Cum blanda videat ora, cum vocem audiat.
Ne quaeso moueas, virgo sum; sed quo patre
Qua matre nata nescio. *Pyg:* Tellus parens
Et ipse genitor debiti. *Vir:* Salue parens,
Genitorque salue. *Pyg:* Venere quam digna es tua
Cui quid rependam prorsus ignotus miser
Quae thura ad aras, sacra quae ponam Deae.
Libado dona singulis annis tibi
Noua templa condam, tibi sacerdotes nouos
Dicabo, et istum tota gens Cypri diem
Quotannis inter festa celebrabit sua.
Miranda narras. *Sacer:* Ambo consortes thori
Abite, fausti viuite, et semper pij.
O chara virgo, pulchrior conjux mihi,
Exosculabor, hoc velit facilis Dea.
Cantabo tecum, tempus hoc cantus petit.
Venusque cum sit sola laetitia Dea,
Venerem colemus, quae facit laetos suos.

(195r)

(Exeunt)

EPILOGUS

Quod restat vnum (non enim ambages placent):
Vos duriores marmore et statua haud reor.
At ista nostro sustulit nutu manus
Vitamque inesse docuit, et motum simul.
Quin vos mouete (viuere ut constet) manus.

260

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239 moueas]. The first three letters of this word are conjectural; only the *cas* is legible: *taceas* might be a possible reading.

250 viuite]. The last three letters are badly blurred in the MS.

258 nostro]. This reading is conjectural; MS blurred.

MILTON, RAMUS, AND EDWARD PHILLIPS

J. MILTON FRENCH

EDWARD PHILLIPS' *Mysteries of love and eloquence* (1658) is an interesting collection of odds and ends designed to catch the attention of numerous classes of readers. It offers a number of model letters to show old and young how to write requests, congratulations, declarations, and condolences; it offers pages and pages of witty remarks, which the timid may store up to dazzle an audience when the strategic moment arrives; it provides all the similes, epithets, and rhymes needed to make a budding poet; it spreads out a rich feast of (chiefly unacknowledged) poetry for the delectation of the cultured or would-be cultured; and for the serious-minded it presents a treatise on logic or dialectics. The significance of this last section has not, so far as I am aware, been noticed by students of Milton.

An American reader's introduction to this piece is likely to come through the second (1685) edition of the *Mysteries*, which was also reprinted in 1699 under the title of *The beau's academy*. Extending from page 252 to page 318 of the edition of 1685, this section is entitled: "The art of reason in the art of logick. Rendred so plain and easie by questions and answers, that the meanest capacity may in a short time attain to the perfect ways of arguing or disputing." The section begins as follows:¹

¹ Although the text here quoted is that of the first edition (1658), there are no significant differences between it and that of 1685. In this quotation as in others throughout this article the capitalization of the original sources has been altered to agree with the practice of this journal.

THE FIRST BOOK OF THE ART OF LOGICK. CAP. 1. WHAT LOGICK IS.

Q. What is Logick?

A. Logick is the Art of disputing well, and in that sense is called Logick.

CAP. 2. THE PARTS OF LOGICK, AND KINDS OF ARGUMENTS.

Q. How many parts hath Logick?

A. Logick hath two parts, Invention and Judgement.

Q. What is Invention?

A. Invention is a part of Logick of inventing Arguments.

Q. What is an Argument?

A. An Argument is that which is affected to argue any thing: such as are all Reasons considered apart, and by themselves.

Q. What be the Kindes?

A. Artificial and Inartificial.

Q. What is the Artificial Argument?

A. That which argueth of it self.

Q. What be the Kindes?

A. First, or derived from the First.

Q. What is First?

A. First is that which is of its own original.

Q. What be the Kindes?

A. Simple or Comparative.

Q. What is Simple?

A. Simple is that which is considered simply and absolutely.

This selection will be enough to give the general idea. Looking ahead, one finds chapters entitled "The efficient, procreant, and conservant cause," "The effective alone and with others," "The efficient by it self or an accident," and so on. The piece consists of two books, comprising 33 chapters and 20 chapters, respectively.

Some readers will have noticed by now that this all sounds vaguely like Milton's *Art of logic*. A closer examination of the similarities is somewhat startling. Milton's book opens as follows:²

CHAPTER I. WHAT IS LOGIC?

Logic is the art of reasoning well. . . .

CHAPTER II. OF THE PARTS OF LOGIC AND THE KINDS OF ARGUMENT.

. . . there are two parts of logic: the invention of reasons or arguments and the disposition of them. . . .

. . . the invention of arguments should be called the first part of logic. . . .

An argument is that which has a fitness for arguing something. . . .

An argument is either artificial or inartificial. . . . But it is called artificial . . . because it argues of it self. . . .

The artificial is either primitive³ or sprung from what is primitive. The primitive is itself original. . . .

The primitive is either simple or comparative.

The simple is what is considered simply and absolutely.

The titles of succeeding chapters are similar to those of Phillips. Chapter iii is "Of the efficient cause as procreant and conserving" (the Latin is "De efficiente, procreante, & conservante"); chapter iv is "Of the efficient cause singly and with others"; chapter v is "Of the efficient cause by itself and by accident"; and the whole work is divided into two books, one of 33 and the other of 17 chapters. This last figure introduces a discrepancy more apparent than real, since Milton condenses the last three chapters of Ramus

² The "Columbia" *Milton*, XI (ed. Allan H. Gilbert [1935]), 19 ff. Only the primary statements are quoted here, the omission of the rest being indicated by ellipses.

³ Milton's Latin word is *primum*, which is closer to Phillips' *first* than the translation indicates.

into one and makes one other change previously. If we skim the topic-sentences from Milton's book and turn them into questions and answers, the result is almost identical with Phillips' performance. Although only a small part of the work of either man has been quoted, the remainder follows the same pattern.

One's first reaction to this situation is to label Phillips a barefaced plagiarist of Milton. The fact that he is already under indictment as an easygoing appropriator of other people's labors strengthens this tendency. Even in his own day he was accused of having cribbed much of his *New world of English words* (1657) from Thomas Blount's *Glossographia* (1656) and of having plundered in later editions from the same author's *Law dictionary* (1670).⁴ The most damning circumstance here is that there is not so much as a whisper from Phillips of any possible secondhandness in his work.

Our reaction, however, may be somewhat tempered when we recall that the edition of 1685 was not the first. The first, on the contrary, appeared many years earlier, in 1658. Does the same material appear in 1658?

Now the edition of 1658 is rare, the only listed copy being in the British Museum. But a lucky inquiry brought me word that the Bridgewater-Wortley-Jolly-Britwell copy is now in the Huntington Library. Through the kindness of Mr. Herman R. Mead, the Huntington bibliographer, I have been able to secure a microfilm copy of the section on logic.

This copy proves incontrovertibly that the whole section on logic appears unchanged in 1658. This fact puts an entirely different complexion on the question of plagiarism. If Milton's *Art of logic* was

⁴ Anthony Wood, *Athenae Ozonienses* (1721), II, 1117-18.

not published until 1672, whereas Phillips' appeared in 1658, is the shoe now on the other foot? Did Milton plagiarize Phillips? Such a question may cause the most doughty Miltonist some qualms of doubt and fear.

But these fears are easily allayed. For one thing, Milton's text is at least ten times longer than that of Phillips. Besides, unless Milton had perhaps set Phillips to work on this piece as an exercise in translation with the understanding that the poet himself would use it later, it is difficult to think of his stealing from his own nephew. Finally, the fact that Milton wrote in Latin and used almost the exact language of Ramus' original text clinches the matter. Milton could not have been the culprit.

How can we account, then, for the similar, almost identical, texts? There are always four possibilities when such cases occur: (1) A copied from B, (2) B copied from A, (3) A and B copied from C, (4) A and B conceived the idea independently. The fourth is almost fantastically unlikely, the first and second appear difficult, and only the third remains. The next step, therefore, is to look for some possible common source.

Milton's sources are easy enough to find because he states frankly what they are. His title-page announces that his book on logic is "Plenior Institutio, Ad Petri Rami Methodum concinnata" ("A fuller institution . . . arranged after the method of Peter Ramus"). In his preface he asserts that Ramus is, in his opinion, the "best writer on the art" of logic and that, since Ramus' book is too brief and condensed for clarity, he has incorporated here "those aids to a more complete understanding of the precepts of the art which must of necessity be sought in the *Scholae dialecticae* of Ramus himself and in the commentaries of others." Professor Gil-

bert points out in his notes that Milton's chief sources are "the *Dialectica* of Peter Ramus, the *Commentarii* on it by George Downham, and the *Petri Rami vita* by Freigius."⁸ Perhaps Phillips used some of the sources; but, since he was not given to overexertion, it might do no harm to look first for English translations, if any existed.

The *Short-title catalogue* gives three English translations of Ramus' book on logic (or dialectics, since the two words are used almost interchangeably): (1) by "M. Roll. Makylmenaem Scotum," published in 1574 and republished in 1581; (2) by Antony Wotton in 1626; and (3) by R[obert] F[age] in 1632. Through the courtesy of Professor Gilbert and the librarian of Duke University, I have been able to borrow photostatic copies of these scarce books, no copies of which are listed as being in this country except one of the 1581 edition in the Huntington Library.

Whoever the Scotch Makylmenaem may have been, his version is not too unlike that of Phillips. To be sure, it is not in question-and-answer form, and the chapter arrangement is different. But it is not impossible that Phillips may have adapted it to his use. Here is the part corresponding to what has already been quoted:

CAP. I.

OF THE DEFINITION AND DIVISIONS OF DIALECTICKE.

Dialecticke otherwise called Logicke, is an art which teacheth to dispute well.

It is diuided into two partes: Inuention, and iudgement or disposition.

Inuention is the first parte of Dialecticke, whiche teacheth to inuente argumentes.

An argumente is that which is naturally bente to proue or disproue any thing, such as be single reasons separatly and by them selues considered.

An argumente is eyther artificial or without arte.

⁸ The "Columbia" Milton, XI, 520-21.

Artificiall is that, which of it self declare-
[sic] and is eyther first, or hathe the beginning
from the first.

The first is that which hathe the begining of
it self; and is eyther simple or compared.

The symple is that, which symplie and
absolutelie is considered: and is eyther argeable
[sic] or disagreeable.

By comparison with the section quoted
above from Phillips, the reader can see
that the resemblance is strong. But let us
see whether the other versions offer more
help.

Wotton's edition of 1626 is further from
Phillips. The corresponding section runs
as follows, with the omission of the many
explanatory notes and definitions with
which the text is cluttered and which con-
stitute about nine-tenths of it:

CHAPTER I. WHAT LOGICK IS?

*Logick is an Art of reasoning well. It is also
called Dialectick. . . .*

CHAP. II. OF THE PARTS OF LOGICK, AND OF THE DIUERS KINDS OF ARGUMENTS.

*There are two parts of Logick (Inuention,
Judgement). . . . Inuention is a part of Logick;
touching the finding out of arguments. . . . An
argument is that, which hath fitnessse to argue
something. . . . Such are the severall respects of
things, considered alone and by themselves. . . .
An argument is (Artificiall, nartificiall [sic]. . . .
And it is Primitiue, or Derivative. . . . Primi-
tiue, which is of it selfe. . . . And it is (Positiue,
Comparatiue. . . .*

The general idea is the same, but the ar-
rangement and form are different. But
when we come to the third edition, the
case is very different.

The translation by R. F. in 1632 makes
us open our eyes:

CAP. I. WHAT DIALECTICA IS.

Q. What is Dialectica.

A. Dialectica is the art of disputing well,
and in that sence is called Logicke.

CAP. 2. THE PARTS OF DIALECTICA AND KINDS OF ARGUMENTS.

Q. How many parts hath Dialectica?

A. Dialectica hath two parts, Invention and
Judgement.

Q. What is Invention?

A. Invention is a part of Dialectica of in-
venting Arguments.

Q. What is an Argument?

A. An Argument is that which is affected to
argue any thing: such as are all reasons consid-
ered a part and by themselves.

Q. What be the Kindes?

A. Artificiall and Inartificiall.

Q. What is an Artificiall Argument?

A. That which argueth of it selfe.

Q. What be the Kindes?

A. First, or derived from the First.

Q. What is First?

A. First is that which is of its own original.

Q. What be the Kindes?

A. Simple or Comparative.

Q. What is Simple?

A. Simple is that which is considered simply
and absolutely. . . .

We need give no more. The obvious
identity between this version and that of
Phillips makes it quite clear that Phillips
took his material wholesale and practical-
ly verbatim from R. F. A careful com-
parison of other parts of the text shows
that, aside from the change from "Dialec-
tica" to "Logick" in the passage quoted,
there is no change of any importance. An
occasional misspelling or the difference in
an article here and there just about com-
pletes the collation. If we may not care to
call it "wholesale" plagiarism, we must at
least say that Phillips' regard for R. F.'s
translation was so high that he felt it
deserved to be more widely read. And if
R. F.'s name happened to be left off in the
process, that was just R. F.'s misfortune.

A further word may be added about the
Latin originals of these English versions.
There are so many that it is impossible,
without a great deal of search, to find

them all. I have managed to look at seven:

1. *P. Rami regii professoris Dialecticae libri duo . . . per Rolandum Makilmenaeum Scotum* (London: Thomas Vautrollerius, 1574). This is fairly close to the English edition of Makylmenaeus of the same year, though containing much marginal and explanatory matter not carried over into the translation.

2. An edition of 1582, somewhat like No. 4 below. (I have not had opportunity to do more than glance at this and No. 3.)

3. An edition of 1583, resembling No. 4 below.

4. *In Petri Rami . . . Dialecticae libros duos Lutetiae anno LXXII . . . explicationum quaestiones: quae paedagogiae logicae de docenda discendaque dialectica* (London: H. Middleton, 1685). This version by Frederick Beurheusius is arranged in questions and answers, together with a great deal of comment. Though differing considerably from R. F.'s English edition of 1632, it uses the same method.

5. *Harmoniae Logicae Philippo Rameae libri duo . . . opera & studio M. Herzoius Buscheri* (Hanover, 1597). This edition again is arranged in questions and answers, and, though it has more material than R. F.'s, it comes the closest of all these titles to his.

6. *Petr[i Rami] regii pr[ofesso]ris Dialecticae commen[tarium] . . . auctor[e] Georgio Dou[nami]* (Frankfurt, 1631). (The title-page of the copy used at Columbia University is defective.) This edition is as near to Milton as any one examined.

7. *P. Rami Veromandui regii professoris Dialecticae libri duo* (Cambridge: Roger Daniel, 1640). This version is very brief, corresponding more or less closely to the italicized portions in Milton's text.

Here, then, are seven Latin versions of

Ramus' work, all, of course, based on his writings but differing from one another in length and method of presentation. Neither R. F. nor his copyist, Phillips, seems to have translated directly from anyone.

We may be justified now in making a brief summary of the facts and a few inferences. The facts seem to be as follows: (1) Milton studied logic and recommended its study in *Of education* in 1644. (2) Milton knew Ramus' book on logic, together with various commentaries on it, specifically that of Downham, and published a book on the subject, which, though admittedly using both their writings, is not a verbatim copy of any known previous edition. (3) Phillips was a student of Milton for some time before the publication of either of their works on logic. (4) Phillips copied R. F.'s English version of 1632 almost word for word.

The following inferences, though not certain, seem probable: (1) Milton probably taught Phillips logic. (2) Milton therefore probably called Phillips' attention to several texts of Ramus, including possibly R. F.'s translation. (3) The relation between Ramus, R. F., Milton, and Phillips may be any of the following or even some different one: (a) Milton's teaching of logic may have stimulated Phillips' interest in logic to the extent that Phillips thought it worth while to include a section about it in his miscellany in 1658; (b) Phillips' section may even have been inspired by Milton's preparation of his own book, since most biographers believe that he wrote it as early as the 1650's or even 1640's; (c) on the other hand, Milton may conceivably have been so shocked at Phillips' plagiarism that he hastened to prepare his own version in order to dissociate himself from the odium of any possible connection with it. This

inference is unlikely but not impossible; those labeled *a* or *b* are more likely. There may even be other explanations, but these seem the most probable.

This incident may perhaps reinforce our suspicion that, as a teacher, Milton was working with somewhat intractable material. He has, we remember, been condemned either for trying to make an academy of little Miltons of his students or, at the opposite end, for having failed miserably to make geniuses of them. It is to be hoped that even the most bitter recent disparagers of Milton will not think that he deliberately trained his students to crib

other people's writings. It also seems rather far-fetched to assume that his teaching was so bad that it drove his students by reaction to flout literary decencies just to get even with him or to let off steam. In his idealistic plan of education Milton had to work with rather ordinary scholars, none of whom attained great heights of character and accomplishment. The present episode makes us feel all the more sympathy for him in his unsuccessful efforts to teach the world how to understand aright Adam's "loss of Eden" and how to "regain the blissful seat."

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THE UNKNOWN MANUSCRIPT OF *EMILIA GALOTTI* AND OTHER LESSINGIANA

H. STEFAN SCHULTZ

EVER since Karl Lachmann's critical edition of Lessing's works in 1838, scholars have surmised that there existed, besides Lessing's own manuscript of *Emilia Galotti*, a final draft of the play which was the basis for the first printed edition. Lachmann himself spoke of Lessing's own manuscript as of "offenbar der vorletzten Abschrift"; and Muncker said in his edition of 1886 more explicitly: "Sie [i.e., Lessing's *Handschrift*] war vermutlich zuerst zum Druckmanuscript bestimmt, da sie ungewöhnlich deutlich geschrieben ist. Dann aber wurde der Druck nach einer späteren Kopie veranstaltet, welche (nach dem Briefwechsel Lessings mit seinem Bruder) wahrscheinlich von einem Schreiber angefertigt worden war."¹

This "spätere Kopie," or, as Lachmann would have called it, "letzte Abschrift," suddenly came to light in 1949 when Professor Joachim Wach² lent a collection of Lessing items for a Goethe exhibition put on by the Germanics Department in collaboration with the Renaissance Society at the University of Chicago. The Lessing items had recently been brought to this country; for many years they had been in the Mendelssohn family.³

Before proceeding to a discussion of the unusual find and its implications for a scholarly edition, I shall list the other Lessing material in Wach's collection.

¹ *G. E. Lessings sämtliche Schriften*, herg. von Karl Lachmann. Dritte . . . Aufl. besorgt durch Franz Muncker, II, 377. This edition will be cited hereafter as "*L.-M.*"

² Sincere thanks are due to Professor Wach for the liberality with which he permitted the author to peruse the manuscript of *Emilia Galotti* for several months. I feel greatly indebted to the College of the University of Chicago for a grant which made it possible for me to include the plate opposite p. 90.

There are, first, the two manuscripts of *Die Matrone von Ephesus*, which Muncker calls *die ältere* and *die jüngere Berliner Handschrift*, or "Hs. 1" and "Hs. 2."⁴ There are also the only extant drafts of *Nathan der Weise*⁵ and twenty-nine letters from Lessing to members of his family.⁶ Finally, there are three large folio leaves, or twelve pages, of which two are empty; these contain copies of ten letters written by Lessing to Elise Reimarus.⁷

The originals of the ten letters were at

³ The catalogue of the exhibition is to be found in *German books*, II (1949), No. 2, published by the Germanics Department of the University of Chicago. Some of the Lessing items are listed under Nos. 203-6 of the catalogue. All the manuscripts were at one time in the possession of the Mendelssohn family. There seems to be no basis for the assertion under No. 203 that Lessing gave them to Moses Mendelssohn. The twenty-nine letters were, in fact, given to the composer, Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, by a Breslau friend (cf. Lachmann, *G. E. Lessings sämtliche Schriften*, XII [1840], 2, n.; cited hereafter as "*Lachmann*").

⁴ For a description of the manuscripts and a list of their variants see *L.-M.*, XXII (1915), 80-87.

⁵ The *Nathan* manuscripts must have been in the Mendelssohn family at least as early as 1853, the date of their first, though partial, publication by Wendelin von Maltzahn. Muncker edited them completely in *L.-M.*, XXII, 88-119.

⁶ These letters have been published in chronological order in *L.-M.* as follows: Vol. XVII (1904), Nos. 1, 2, 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, 27, 44, 50, 116, 126, 128, 151, 152, 157, 162, 163, 165, 171, 196, 269, 289, and 306; Vol. XVIII (1907), Nos. 420, 484, 526, 545, and 625. The packet of letters contained originally thirty-one items and is identical with that mentioned by Lachmann in n. 3 above. The two letters now missing from the collection are *L.-M.*, Vol. XVII, Nos. 6 and 154. They are still listed in a typed copy of a *Bestandsverzeichnis A* of the Mendelssohn collection, which is dated November 24, 1863. Lachmann made an error in the distribution of the various letters by assigning twenty-two letters to the father and one to the brother Theophilus. This error was repeated by Maltzahn, *G. E. Lessings sämtliche Schriften*, XII (1857), 4. There were twenty-one letters to the father, four each to Lessing's mother and sister, and two to his brother Theophilus.

⁷ The original letters have been published in *L.-M.*, Vol. XVIII, Nos. 606, 610, 613, 621, 648, 694, 698, 699, 702, and 707.

one time owned by the Sieveking family at Hamburg. The Sievekings also had a copy of No. 613, which Muncker mentioned as lost together with the original.⁸ It would be a tempting conjecture to think that our copy was made by Elise Reimarus herself, since she definitely copied one of Lessing's letters to Matthias Claudius;⁹ and it would be even more tempting to regard Elise Reimarus as the

copyist of all ten letters. But Elise was an educated person and could read Lessing's hand, virtues which our copyist did not possess. The countless mistakes in our copies frequently concern the spelling, omissions, or repetitions of words or syllables, as they occur in mechanical copying. As the following examples show, our copies are of no particular value for the establishment of a good text:

L.-M., XVIII

- 281, 1: viel freyer Feld
 284, 23: nicht versieht
 27: Synedrium
 29, 30: Pabisten
 32: Aber ich brauche sie kaum
 287, 5: Melchisedech
 295, 26: Stüke
 296, 6: sterlen
 317, 27: die impertinente Professorgans
 354, 11: verbitten würden
 20: Materia peccans
 355, 12: D. Schützen [i.e., accusative of Doctor Schütze]
 18: Seehusen
 18/19: Dodd ward gar gehangen¹⁰
 360, 6: Orthodoxie affectiren
 18/19: dermaligen
 361, 5: Fund
 364, 19: Orthodoxen

WACH COLLECTION

- viel freuen Feld
 nicht vorsieht
 Synedeium
 Rabisten
 Aber ich beuge sie krum
 Melchisedoch
 [lacuna]
 [lacuna]
 die impertinenten Prossessorgens
 erbitten würden
 Materia paccans
 die Schützen
 Schüssen
 [lacuna]
 Otodoxie affektionieren
 damaligen
 Freund
 Ottodoxen

The most gratifying item in Wach's collection was, however, an unbound manuscript of *Emilia Galotti* in quarto.

⁸ *L.-M.*, XVIII, 286, n. 2.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 269, n. 3.

¹⁰ The reference is clearly to William Dodd, LL.D., of whom Robert Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica* (Edinburgh, 1824), Vol. I, s.v., said: "an ingenious Divine of unfortunate memory, was born in 1729, suffered 1777." Dodd was hanged for forgery on June 27, 1777 (cf. *DNB*). It is surprising that Muncker gives no explanation of this passage in spite of Carl Christian Redlich, *Lessing's Briefe* (Berlin, 1879), I, Part 2, 830, n. 1 (cited hereafter as "Redlich"). The parallel of Dodd's fate with that of Seehusen lies, however, in the fact that the one was a forger, the other an embezzler, and not in Seehusen's intention at one time to study theology. A necessary correction in Muncker's edition is to be mentioned here: Muncker said in *L.-M.*, XVIII, 295, n. 3: "[Dazu bemerkte Lappenberg in der Hs.: 'bezieht sich auf Campens damaligen lateinischen Bibel-Auszug']". Muncker failed to iden-

The manuscript has a loose wrapper of thin blue paper, with the words "Zum Theater" in brown ink on its lower

tify the Lappenberg who annotated Lessing's letter to Elise Reimarus and must have annotated it at an early date, since our copy has the same note with characteristic misspelling. Only Valentin Anton Lappenberg (1759-1819), the physician who associated with the Reimaruses and the Sievekings, could have made the notation. Actually, Elise Reimarus herself wrote it (cf. Redlich, p. 767, n. 2). She did the same thing when she wrote on Lessing's letter, No. 694: "Den ersten Posttag nach seiner Zuhausekunft von Hamburg nach seiner letzten Reise"; in this case also, our copy contains Elise's remark. Apparently, Muncker perpetuated an error of Lachmann, who credited his friend Dr. Lappenberg (not identical with Valentin Anton) with the note. Dr. Lappenberg, however, merely compared the copies of the letters used by Lachmann with the originals in the Sieveking family (cf. Lachmann, XII, 502 n.; 516 n.).

fourth.¹¹ It contains 132 pages, of which the last is empty. Pages 1 and 2 are unnumbered and give the title and the dramatis personae; pages 83 and 123 are also unnumbered, probably through an oversight.

The manuscript is very clearly written in brown ink in different hands, changing at times in the middle of a page.¹² It is the copy from which both the first edition of *Emilia Galotti* in the *Trauerspiele* (Berlin, 1772) and the first single edition of the play were printed. The latter will be called hereafter "1772 b," in keeping with Muncker's sigla.¹³ That the manuscript is Muncker's conjectural "spätere Kopie" is conclusively proved by the fact that the printer indicated in thick red pencil the beginning of each new *Bogen*, together with the page of the *Trauerspiele*. Thus we find on the title-page of the manuscript *Trauers. Q*; on p. 15, *Tr. R p. 257*; on p. 28, *Tr. S. 273*; on p. 41, *Tr. T.* (see plate I); on p. 54, *Tr. U. p. 305*; on p. 67, *Tr. X p. 321*; on p. 81, *Tr. Y. 337*; on p. 94, *Tr. Z. p. 353*; on p. 107, *Tr. Aa p. 369*; on p. 123, *Tr. Bb. oder K p. 385 oder 145*. The last entry by the typesetter refers both to the *Trauerspiele* and the

single edition "1772 b"; it is accurate for the single edition, for here is the point where the pagination of the *Trauerspiele* and of "1772 b" diverge.¹⁴

Our manuscript is, furthermore, a copy of Lessing's own manuscript of *Emilia* in the Preussische Staatsbibliothek in Berlin,¹⁵ as can be seen from the copyist's faithful adherence to Lessing's corrected text; for the *Berliner Handschrift*, as Lessing's manuscript is called by the editors, has corrections, either later additions or words stricken from the text, as well as initial omissions of words. A careful comparison of our manuscript with the many corrections and omissions listed by Muncker¹⁶ showed that our manuscript contains all these and is, therefore, an exact copy of the *Berliner Handschrift*.

We know about the first printing of *Emilia Galotti* from the correspondence between Lessing and his brother Karl and his publisher Christ. Fr. Voss, who was printing the *Trauerspiele* in December, 1771. Lessing promised him, on December 24, 1771, "die neue Tragödie vor Ablauf der ersten Hälfte des Januars."¹⁷ He wrote to Karl from Wolfenbüttel on December 31, 1771: "Mit meiner Tragödie geht es so ziemlich gut, und künftige Woche will ich Dir die ersten drey Acte übersenden. . . . Mache nur, dass sogleich daran kann ge-

¹¹ The words "Zum Theater" point to a strong possibility that our manuscript of *Emilia Galotti* was once part of the *Theatralischer Nachlass* and passed from there to the Mendelssohns, whose collection contained the manuscripts of *Die Matrone von Ephesus* and of *Nathan der Weise*, also from the *Theatralischer Nachlass*. Mendelssohn's *Bestandsverzeichnis A*, mentioned above (n. 6), says of our manuscript: "Ein stärkeres, 131 Seiten umfassendes handschriftlich geschriebenes Heft, mit der Aufschrift 'Emilia Galotti, Trauer-Spiel in 5 Akten.' (Manuscript, offenbar zu Lessings Zeit geschrieben.)" It is surprising that no scholar appears to have seen this manuscript, although it has been in the Mendelssohn family at least since 1863 and although Ernst Mendelssohn-Bartholdy gave liberal access to his Lessing treasures (cf. *L.-M.*, III [1887], xvii).

¹² A good example is on p. 50 of the manuscript (*L.-M.*, II, 406, l. 20), where one hand ends with Apian's words, ". . . mich zu brauchen geruhen werde," and another hand continues with Marinelli (p. 406, l. 21). Page 88 of the manuscript is written by one hand, on p. 89 another hand begins.

¹³ *L.-M.*, XXII, 433.

¹⁴ For the first printings of *Emilia Galotti* see *L.-M.*, XXII, 432-35. Muncker was correct in maintaining that the editions in the *Trauerspiele* and "1772 b" were printed from the same plates, but he overlooked the following corroborating evidence: the passage *L.-M.*, II, 446, l. 22, was misprinted in both editions (*Trauerspiele*, p. 384 and "1772 b," p. 144)—*gehen ab* instead of *gehen ab*. The spacing of the lines in "1772 b" is much closer beginning with p. 144. While p. 383 of the *Trauerspiele* and p. 143 in "1772 b" both have 10.9 cm. of printed type, the final 16 lines of Act V, Scene 5, occupy 1.2 cm. less space on p. 144 of "1772 b" than on p. 384 of the *Trauerspiele*.

¹⁵ The *Handschrift* was described and newly collated by Muncker, *L.-M.*, XXII, 36-39.

¹⁶ For a list of the corrections see both the footnotes in the edition of *Emilia Galotti* (*L.-M.*, II, 377-450) and the additional cases (*L.-M.*, XXII, 36-39).

¹⁷ *L.-M.*, XVII, 422, ll. 24 ff.

[illegible]

L.-M., II, 399, ll. 27 ff.

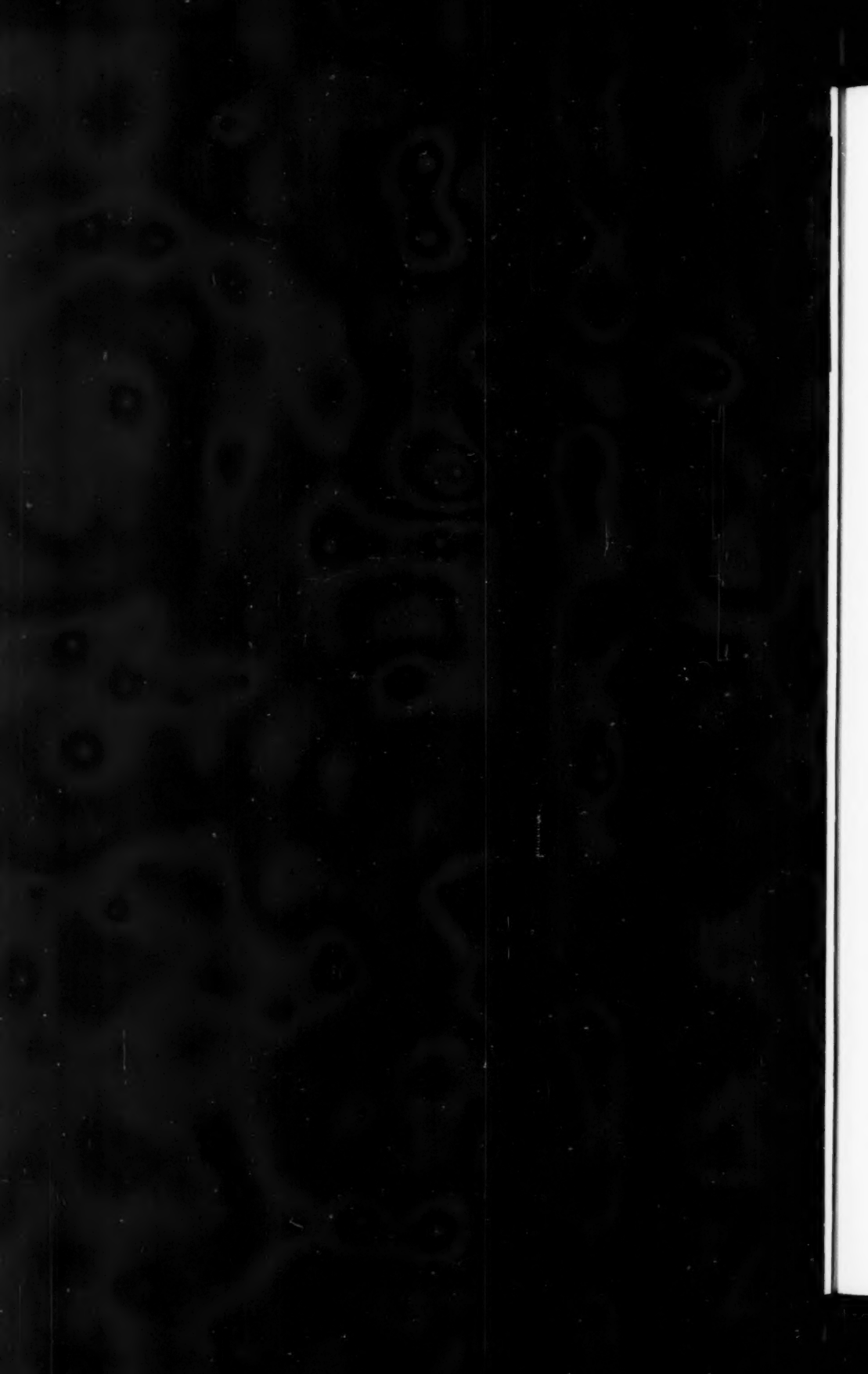
dass; und ganz so ganz wie zur kommen; und ganz
 so wie zur gehen; so ist das Leben, mit mir
 die Truppe für die, die an der (die Truppe hat schon
 überlassen sein, meine Truppe!

Maria! Ich werde ab mir gehen, so, mit welcher
 Gefühle die Truppe (Truppe). - Mein, so wird die
 so nicht gehen, die zu gehen. - Gott! Gott! wenn
 die Truppe das Leben! - Wie wird es, so wie
 selbst so wie gehen, das die Truppe die Truppe nicht
 die Truppe, fallen gehen! - Ich will, so wie, wenn

L.-M., II, 401, ll. 6 ff.

129.
 Kaitige! - Geben Sie mir, mein Vater, geben
 Sie mir diesen Sack.
Docto. Und warum Sie ihn haben, ist dieser Sack?
Emilia. ^{Wann ich ihn habe, nicht wahr!} - Für meine Mutter, ist es
 ein Geschenk. - Geben Sie mir ihn, mein Vater;
 geben Sie mir ihn.
Docto. Wann ich Sie ihn nun gebe - Ja! (zittelt
 ihn)

L.-M., II, 449, ll. 8 ff.



druckt werden."¹⁸ Karl's answer is dated January 11, 1772; the manuscript had not yet arrived.¹⁹ Three days later, on January 14, Karl inquired about the "neue Tragödie": "Wenn Du auch noch nicht fertig bist, so wirst Du doch wohl schon so weit mit ihr zu Rande seyn, dass Du den ersten Akt schicken kannst? Denn ich werde alle Tage lüsterner darnach."²⁰ At about this time, Lessing must have sent from Wolfenbüttel the first half of the manuscript intended for the printer, for he wrote on January 25, 1772: "Die erste Hälfte meiner neuen Tragödie wirst Du nun wohl haben; und ich bin sehr begierig, Dein Urtheil darüber zu vernehmen."²¹ He wrote further (p. 10, ll. 21 ff.): "Binnen acht Tagen, wenn ich mit dem Abschreiben nicht aufgehalten werde, soll der Rest folgen. Nun bitte ich Dich nur, auf die Correctur allen Fleiss zu wenden. Am besten würde es seyn, wenn Du Dir das Manuscript bey der Correctur könntest vorlesen lassen."

The following questions arise at this point: (1) Did Lessing send the *Berliner Handschrift* or our manuscript? (2) Was the *Abschrift* made by himself, as might be implied from "wenn ich mit dem Abschreiben nicht aufgehalten werde," or did he engage a copyist? (3) How much of *Emilia Galotti* did Lessing send, the first three acts or the first half of the tragedy?

The answers to questions 1 and 2 are given by our manuscript together with Karl's letter of February 3, 1772,²² and Lessing's answer of February 10, 1772, from Braunschweig.²³ Karl wrote: "S. 41., in der Scene, wo die Tochter der Mutter ihren Vorfall in der Kirche erzählt, hat der Abschreiber einen Fehler gemacht. Er

hat die Worte: *Die Furcht hat ihren besondern Sinn*, der Emilia in den Mund gelegt, welche sie in ihrer furchtsamen Fassung nicht sagen kann; sie kommen der Claudia zu." Lessing answered: "Die Stelle S. 41. *Die Furcht hat ihren besondern Sinn*; muss ich Dir gestehen, ist, so wie sie ist, zwar kein Fehler des Abschreibers. Doch lass ich mir Deine Veränderung gefallen. . . . Wenn es der Claudia in den Mund gelegt wird, so lass hinter das Wort *Sinn* nur einen Strich (—) setzen, dass es mit dem Folgenden nicht zusammen ausgesprochen wird." The passage mentioned²⁴ is to be found on page 41 of our manuscript; consequently, Lessing had sent our manuscript and not the *Berliner Handschrift*.

Karl did not quite follow his brother's instructions. Instead of making a *Strich* (—) after *Sinn*, he made a comma and added *meine Tochter!* He achieved thus his own purpose of making it clear that Claudia is speaking, as well as his brother's intention of having a pause after *Sinn*. The whole passage in our copy is then encircled in black ink and given to Claudia (see plate opposite p. 90). It is clear from Lessing's defense of the *Abschreiber* that the copying was not done by the author himself.

The question of how many pages Lessing sent to his brother at first cannot be answered with absolute certainty. He could not have sent the first three acts in their entirety. For Act III ends on page 76 of the manuscript in the middle of two double leaves nested together and containing pages 73–80. In the letter of February 3, Karl discussed Emilia's character critically and said: ". . . vermuthlich wird Emilia in den letzten Acten thätiger seyn. . . . Vorausgesetzt, dass Deine Emilia in den letzten Acten keine anderen Vorzüge zeigt." This indicates that he had not yet seen Acts IV and V.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 427, ll. 31 ff.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, XX, 116, ll. 1–3.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 117, ll. 9–12.

²¹ *Ibid.*, XVIII, 10, ll. 12 f.

²² *Ibid.*, XX, 127 f.

²³ *Ibid.*, XVIII, 18 f.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 401, l. 8.

From Karl's letter of February 1, 1772,²⁵ it becomes very probable, however, that he had actually received half of the tragedy; for he wrote: "Für ein halbes Vergnügen sollte wohl nur ein halber Dank seyn; da aber dieses halbe Vergnügen so gross gewesen ist, so nimm meinen ganzen Dank dafür." *Die Scene mit dem Minister!* which is mentioned in the same letter, refers probably to Act I, Scene 6, and not to Act III, Scene 1, and does not help to answer our question.

Half of the tragedy would be 66 pages of our manuscript; pages 65-66 are on a single leaf and might well have been sent as the last part of the first shipment. It becomes almost certain, however, that the first shipment ended with page 64, the last page of two double leaves nested together, because all corrections in red ink stop with page 64.

The corrections in red ink are highly interesting, even though they deal mostly with the spelling, e.g., *ss* instead of *sz*, *P* instead of *B*, *ä* instead of *e*, *ff* instead of *f*. That they were made in Berlin, perhaps by Karl himself or by a proofreader, is clear from a correction listed in *L.-M.*, II, 389, l. 25. The copyist wrote *betauern*, which the red ink changed to *bedauern*. Lessing disapproved of the correction in his letter to Karl of March 1, 1772.²⁶ He expressed his satisfaction with the proof sheets in general but cited various ugly mistakes in *Bogen R*: "S. 265. Zeile 11. Bedauern, wenn es so viel heisst als Mit-leiden haben, muss *betauern* geschrieben werden; denn es kommt von *trauern*. *Dauern* heisst wahren, durare. Wenigstens habe ich diesen Unterschied beständig beobachtet." Clearly, Lessing himself is not responsible for this particular red correction in our manuscript.

Another correction in red ink which

cannot have been made by Lessing is to be found in *L.-M.*, II, 391, lines 4-5. Our manuscript had *Lassen Sie den Grafen dieser Gesandter seyn*; the red ink corrected it to *Lassen Sie den Grafen diesen Gesandten seyn*; both "1772 a" and "1772 b" printed *diesen Gesandten*. But Lessing wrote on March 1, 1772: "So habe ich ganz gewiss nicht geschrieben, und es ist undeutsch."²⁷

On examining all red corrections carefully, I have come to the conclusion that only four are by Lessing himself, both because of the handwriting and because of the kind of correction. They are as follows:

L.-M., II

384, 2: dasz Raphael nicht das gröszte mahlerische Genie gewesen wäre [*gar* was inserted in red ink before *nicht*, then crossed out in black ink]

399, 30: O dasz laute Donner mich verhindert hätten [corrected in red into] O dasz ein Donner des Himels mich verhindert hätte [then crossed out in black ink and the original reinstated by dots (...) underneath; Lessing liked to indicate double *m* or double *n* by a dash (—) above the simple letter] (see plate opposite p. 90)

402, 12: Nichts klingt in ihr wie Alles: ihr [crossed out in red] dieser Sprache [written above in red]

15: mehr [inserted in front of the word *eiller*], ler [crossed out; above it in red] el

The foregoing corrections reflect the author's attempt to achieve the best possible expression, whereas Karl's schoolmasterly zeal is revealed in the following samples. Just as Karl corrected Lessing's syntax in *Lassen Sie den Grafen diesen Gesandten seyn*, so he changed page 390, line 7, *Sie sehen mich ein Raub der Wellen* into *einen Raub*. He tried to improve Lessing's elliptic diction by inserting (p. 380,

²⁵ *Ibid.*, XX, 124 f.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, XVIII, 21, ll. 19-22.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 21, l. 17.

l. 27) *haben* after *welches Sie mir nicht befohlen*. The red ink is, however, so faint that the printer obviously overlooked the addition. The insertion of *nun* before *doch* on page 391, line 18, *Und wenn doch alles verloren wäre?* is likewise superfluous.

The absence of red corrections after page 64 of the manuscript might be explained by the lack of time on Karl's part, once printing had started; the new manuscript pages had to be given to the printer as soon as they arrived from Wolfenbüttel, while, at the same time, Karl had to read proof.

The red corrections in our manuscript clarify a situation which has puzzled past editors. Muncker, for instance, was of the opinion that Lessing changed his spelling in the course of his life, at first using the preposition *vor* and later adopting the modern *für*, or that he wavered between the prefix *un* and *ohn* in the spelling of certain words: "Meistens zog er schliesslich *un* vor—so liess er regelmässig in den Ausgaben der 'Emilia,' deren Handschrift öfters die älteren Formen aufweist, *ungeachtet*, *unstreitig*, *unfern* drucken—; doch lag auch hie und da die Sache umgekehrt."²⁸

With our manuscript as new evidence, we can say that Lessing was more consistent in his spelling than Muncker supposed, that he favored the older forms, and that the red corrections are responsible for apparent inconsistencies. The red ink changed in *L.-M.*, II, 386, l. 19, *ohnstreitig* to *unstreitig*; p. 388, l. 27 *Ohnfern* to *Unfern*, whereas the original *ohnfern* is preserved on p. 415, l. 31. The red corrector adopted the reading *fürs erste* on pp. 386, l. 16; 391, l. 14; and 414, l. 14; whereas p. 441, ll. 7, 8, still shows twice *vors erste* because of the absence of red corrections in the second half of our manuscript. Another instance is the change of *Wuth* into *Wut*

on p. 400, l. 21, by the Berlin corrector, while the original *Wuth* still appears on pp. 434, ll. 20, 22, and 439, l. 12. Furthermore, our manuscript had on p. 387, l. 21, *Prung*; p. 412, 3 and 15, *Blanke*; p. 408, 22, *Ba!*; p. 412, ll. 6/7, the dative after *während*; the red ink was responsible for the corrections *Prunk*, *Planke*, *Pahl*, and the genitive after *während*. Erich Schmidt was quite right when he said "*Prung* kann sehr wol . . . bei Lessing vorkommen." In general, it would be well to follow his injunction: "formen, die Lessing durchweg, ja mit einem gewissen trotz gegen autoritäten wie Adelung behauptete, *kömmst*, *betauren*, dürfte man auch da einführen, wo uns nur KGLessings vielfach normierter text vorliegt."²⁹

In those cases where the printer continued to use the normalized spelling, although the manuscript had not been corrected, the text should, however, be left as it now is. For instance, all the *lassen*'s and *müssen*'s and their compounds should be retained instead of the original *laszen* and *müszten*.³⁰ There still remains the question whether the elisions which are so typical of Lessing ought not to be reinstated: p. 390, l. 3, *Müh*; p. 391, l. 5, *Beding*; p. 392, l. 9, *Sach*; p. 411, l. 12, *fiel*; or the weak endings on p. 395, l. 13, *jemanden*; and p. 411, l. 2, *halben*.

Lessing's concern for clear manuscripts and good proofreading is well known from his correspondence. While he professed to be "ganz und gar kein accurater Corrector,"³¹ it would be surprising if he had

²⁸ *Anzeiger für deutsches Alterthum*, XVII (April, 1891), 138. A different view is expressed by Julius Petersen and Waldemar von Olshausen, *Lessings Werke . . . in fünfundzwanzig Teilen*, Anmerkungen, Part I, p. 7.

²⁹ The same rule should apply to p. 393, l. 21, *beschäftigt*, and p. 430, l. 1, *beschäftiget*; although our manuscript spelled the word with one *f* in the latter case, the printer continued to use the spelling of the red correction.

³¹ Cf. letter to Friedrich Nicolai of August 26, 1757 (*L.-M.*, XVII, 120, l. 8).

²⁸ *Ibid.*, II, vii.

sent our manuscript to Berlin without having gone over the work of the copyists. Actually, Lessing's corrections go through the whole manuscript and are written in an ink which seems darker than that used by the copyists because Lessing used a broader quill. They concern only small matters, as is to be expected from Lessing's letter of April 21, 1772, to Karl Wilhelm Ramler: "... da ich zum Verbessern überhaupt ganz verdorben bin, und das Verbessern eines dramatischen Stücks insbesondere fast für unmöglich halte, wenn es einmal zu einem gewissen Grade der Vollendung gebracht ist, und die Verbesserung mehr als Kleinigkeiten betreffen soll. . . ."³² The following is a list of Lessing's corrections in dark ink:

L.-M., II

- 378: ANGELO, und einige Bediente. [The last three words are crossed out and reinstated by dots (...) underneath the words. Added is]
PIRRO, Bedienter des Odoardo
BATTISTA, Bedienter des Marinelli
- 381, 11: ihm [corrected into] ihr
30: Ver . . . mit [first corrected into] Verderb mit [then crossed out; above it] Verderb mit
- 382, 6: Und was sagte denn das Original? denn [crossed out]
11: Und mit einer Stimme sagte sie das [corrected into] Und mit einer Mine sagte sie das [*Mine* corrected in red into *Miene*]
32: als wann er [corrected into] als warmer
- 384, 27: hurtig [corrected into] schnell
- 385, 8: beyde [crossed out; above it] beide
- 386, 9/10: in allem Ernst [corrected into] in gutem Ernste³³
- 15: Masza [crossed out; above it] Massa
- 387, 5: biszchen [crossed out; above it] armen
- 393, 4: *Ein Bedienter.* [crossed out; behind it] *Pirro.*
5: einem Bedienten [crossed out; over it] *Pirro,*
21/22: Ohnstreitig mit dem Putze beschäftigt?—[the correction *Unstreitig* und *beschäftigt* in red ink; the verb was transposed to second place by writing the numbers 2, 3, 4, 1, above the last four words, and the *e* in the ending of *beschäftigt* was deleted in black ink]
- 394, 9: (zu dem Bedienten) [crossed out after] *Pirro,*
- 398, 22: ist einzig; es [inserted between the two words]
- 400, 21: hatt' ich [corrected into] hätt' ich
- 405, 12: denn [?; corrected into] dann
- 407, 16: ? [added after] nicht
- 408, 10: dasz es so noch [crossed out; above it] dasz es sonach
- 409, 26: . . . wie albern Sie sich auch dabey genommen.—[the *auch* is crossed out]
- 414, 13: dauren? [corrected into] dauern?
26: einen [corrected into] einem
- 419, 32-420, 1: [the mistake of the copyist] aufhält [corrected into] auffällt
- 422, 30: Freundschaftlich [corrected into] freundschaftlich
- 424, 32/33: Und wenn er es nicht selbst verrathen hätte:—ich möchte doch . . . [corrected into] Und wenn er es nicht selbst verrathen hätte?—Traun! Ich möchte doch . . .
- 428, 10: öfterer [crossed out; above it] öftner
- 429, 13: bleibt [inserted after] unentschließlich
17: bedaure [corrected into] betaure
[Here is a clear indication that Lessing corrected the manuscript before he sent it off to Berlin. As to the attitude of the Berlin corrector in regard to the spelling cf. above, p. 92 and n. 26.]
- 432, 23: mehren [corrected into] mehrern
- 433, 25: umsonst [crossed out; above it] unsanft
- 435, 24: dauret [corrected into] dauert

³² *L.-M., XVIII, No. 356, pp. 32 f.*

³³ Here is a clear instance that Lessing never lost sight of the actor and the spoken word and its effect on an audience. The original version *in allem Ernst zu lieben* is hard to pronounce because of the meeting of two *t*-sounds in *Ernst zu*. The added *e* makes for an easy pronunciation, and the dactyl creates a pleasant sentence rhythm.

- 33: nicht kleines [corrected into] nichts
Kleines
438, 18: . ? . laszen [corrected into] vorlaszen
445, 14: ein [before] Gefängnisz [crossed out;
above it] an
448, 19: keinen Willen haben [corrected into]
keinen Willen hätten
449, 10: Wozu ? [crossed out; above it] Wenn
ich ihn auch nicht keñe!—(see plate
opposite p. 90)
26: Solche [corrected into] Solcher
nicht [crossed out; above it] keinen³⁴
450, 21: unter welchem der Prinz [the last two
words crossed out; after it] er

Thus any future scholarly edition of *Emilia Galotti* will need to take into account our final manuscript of the play. Muncker was inclined to use the text of the third printing "1772 c" as the basis for a new edition,³⁵ because we know that Lessing furnished his brother Karl with a list of corrections for the third printing on May 2, 1772,³⁶ while we do not know of any effort on Lessing's part to supervise the edition "1772 d," the last one to appear in his lifetime. Muncker's principle was sound, even though Lessing's list of corrections had arrived too late to be used and although we had nothing but Karl's word that he had taken care of all misprints with one exception.³⁷ Since Lessing's list of corrections, however, is lost and since the final manuscript has now been discovered, there is no further need to rely on "1772 c."³⁸

³⁴ The corrections on p. 449, ll. 10 and 26, are referred to on the title-page of our manuscript in the right upper corner in pencil: "p. 128/129 correct Lessings Hand." The handwriting might be of about the middle of the nineteenth century. Whoever made that notation was familiar with Lessing's hand. Karl's hand had much less originality. Since both corrections occur also in the *Berliner Handschrift*, they were made in both the *Handschrift* and in our manuscript after the latter had been copied. I wonder whether the *Handschrift* really has *keine* instead of *keinen*.

³⁵ *L.-M.*, XXII, 39.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, XVIII, 40, ll. 21-29.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, XX, 181, ll. 6-9.

³⁸ Many changes in "1772 c" are probably due to Karl and not to Lessing's list of corrections. For in-

The following list gives all variants which, according to our manuscript, ought to be incorporated in Muncker's edition:³⁹

- L.-M.*, II
379, 8: unterschriebnen
380, 28: verdienet
385, 2: Aber dieses, bleibt hier
24: kehret
387, 10: andern!
25: wär'
388, 1: beszres [the red ink corrected *bessres*]
4: euern
389, 2: geschieht
25: betauern^{39a}
391, 5: Gesandter [or] Gesandte [if one prefers Lessing's letter of March 1, 1772, in *L.-M.*, XVIII, 21, l. 18]
16: genung
393, 10: Ah!
395, 25: gedient?
397, 20: (Pirro geht.)
22: bedenkst
399, 6: Ah, meine Mutter!
400, 19: kennst
401, 3: Jtzt
16: aber nicht [the comma between the two words was inserted in red ink]
24: ah, mein Kind [an exclamation mark instead of the comma was made in red ink]
402, 19: hingeschlagen
19: und kömmt ihnen
403, 1: hab'
29: verschwendrischen
404, 1: verwandle
27: niedergeschlagen
405, 26: geht.

stance, it would seem very strange if Lessing, in his corrections, had suddenly abandoned his predilection for apocopation, syncopation, and contraction or if he had substituted the literary *nachahmen* (p. 420, l. 11) for the colloquial *nachmachen*, which is much stronger (cf. the quotation from *Anti-Goeze* in Erich Schmidt, *Lessing*, II, 706).

³⁹ The corrections in red will be omitted from this list, with a few exceptions. I shall refer to Erich Schmidt's remarks in *Anzeiger für deutsches Alterthum*, XVII (April, 1891), 140, and to Muncker's corrections in *L.-M.*, XXII, 36-39, only when it is necessary for clarification.

^{39a} *L.-M.*, II, 389, n. 4 ought to read *bedauern* instead of *betauren*.

- 406, 5: Befehl?
13: solle
- 408, 4: ihn
- 410, 9: foderte [cf. p. 379, l. 11, gefodert; p. 445, l. 2, erfodert]
10: foderte [although the manuscript here had *forderte*, which was corrected by the red ink into *foderte*]
19: ihm auch
20: wichtigeres
33: höhnisch
33: Gnüge!
- 411, 7: Das Unmögliche, sag' ich?
- 412, 4: andrer
22: geht
- 414, 13: dauern?
16: alsdann
- 416, 15: theuere
- 417, 15: hägen?—[ditto p. 423, l. 9; cf. Erich Schmidt, *Lessing*, II, 704]
- 420, 11: nachmachen;
- 423, 18: Aber wer mehr? Wer wird es mehr glauben? Auch der Vater? Auch die Mutter?
- 424, 1: [The text ought to be kept as it now is; Muncker, *L.-M.*, XXII, 38, was carried away by Erich Schmidt's argument]
- 426, 14: [The text ought to stand as it now is. It is true that Lessing himself uses the accusative after *vermuthend seyn*, p. 402, l. 21, and that Grimm's *Wörterbuch* prints our passage blandly as: "er ist die Gräfinn hier nicht vermuthend." In Vol. XII, col. 900, Grimm quotes, however, passages from Mascov and Schiller where the genitive is used. Both the genitive and the accusative occur after the reflexive *sich . . . vermuthen*. The genitive after *vermuthend sein* might be explained through analogy with the regular genitive after *sein* plus adjectives like *ansichtig*, *bewusst*, *eingedenk*, *gewärtig*, *verdächtig*, etc.]
- 428, 10: öfter
- 430, 23: sich glücklich hierher
- 431, 36: hieher [the inconsistencies of the last two passages should be retained; they occur in the text even now, only in reverse order]
- 432, 10: Abscheuligkeit
- 26: dem alten [should be kept; the misprint *den* was clearly overlooked by Karl; *L.-M.*, XXII, 39, is not to be followed]
- 433, 12: Übles
- 435, 9: unsres Mitleids, unsrer Hochachtung
- 439, 21: [Against *L.-M.*, XXII, 39, we can now say that it was not Karl Lessing who struck the word *garstige* from the *Berliner Handschrift* but Lessing himself who had the *Handschrift* in Braunschweig when he wrote the letter of March 1, 1772 (*L.-M.*, XVIII, 20-22). Act V, Scene 1, must have been at the printer's when Lessing's letter arrived, for *garstige* has not been deleted in our manuscript. It is probable that Karl made the correction in the proof sheets, since all editions omit *garstige*]⁴⁰
- 445, 27: verwahret
- 446, 12: gern
- 447, 25: wann
- 448, 28: wär
- 449, 17: bekömm
- 450, 23: ihn [is not a misprint in "1772 ab," as Muncker believed, *L.-M.*, XXII, 434; it is clearly in our manuscript. Lessing may have used the double accusative in the belief that it represented an older usage which later was lost because of the coexistent use of the dative of the person with the accusative of the object; cf. O. Behaghel, *Deutsche Syntax*, I, 698 f.]

The value of the newly found manuscript of *Emilia Galotti* for the refinement of the tradition of the text is unquestionable. The manuscript is even more valuable because it brings to life the actual process of printing as well as the collaboration between Lessing and his brother.⁴¹ It

⁴⁰ Petersen and von Olshausen, *Anmerkungen*, Part I, p. 66, ought to be corrected to read "Ursprünglich hiess es *der alte garstige Neidhart*."

⁴¹ In one instance nothing more than a line under a word tells of Karl's reaction to Lessing's criticism. The

exemplifies Lessing's ideas on linguistic usage and significantly shows that Lessing's foremost concern was with the spoken word. Our admiration for the splendid editorship of a Lachmann and a Muncker will only grow when we see how often their philological instinct is proved right by the new discovery. On the other hand, we shall also be reminded of the fallibility of editorial labors in spite of all

sentence in *L.-M.*, II, 392, l. 18, *Es könnte schon geschehen seyn* appears in "1772 ab" as *Es könnte schon gesehen seyn*. Muncker was quite correct to call *gesehen* a misprint (*L.-M.*, XXII, 36). Actually, the printer was not at fault, for our manuscript has clearly *gesehen*. But the word is underlined in a darker ink. The line can be explained only by the following assumption. Karl received Lessing's letter of March 1, 1772, which called his attention to the misprint. He wondered how the mistake could have gotten into print and went back to the manuscript. He saw to his satisfaction that this time the fault had not been his and marked the crucial word with two strokes of his pen.

ingenuity when we meet with the curiosities which occasionally result from editorial speculation. At the beginning of the play, the Prince speaks the line *Auf einmal muss eine arme Bruneschi, Emilia heissen*.⁴² Lachmann saw that the *Berliner Handschrift* clearly had *eine armene* and guessed ingeniously that Lessing's real intention had been to write *eine alberne*. Lessing, he argued, put *eine arme* into "the final, probably more careless copy merely from hastiness."⁴³ Lachmann's guess was wrong on both counts. The final manuscript is very carefully written and originally also read *eine armene*. But the last two letters have been erased with a penknife.

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⁴² *L.-M.*, II, 379, l. 19.

⁴³ Lachmann, II (1838), 115 n.

STENDHAL ET DESTUTT DE TRACY: LA VIE DE NAPOLEON ET LE COMMENTAIRE SUR L'ESPRIT DES LOIS

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EN AVRIL 1817, M. de Beyle, ancien commissaire des guerres adjoint, rentrait en France après un long séjour en Italie.¹ Il mettait alors la dernière main à son *Histoire de la peinture en Italie* et il s'occupait aussi de ses finances. Dans une lettre datée de Grenoble 1^{er} juin 1817, il suppliait le Ministre de la Guerre d'ordonner que son traitement fût liquidé sans délai. Il rappelait au Ministre qu'il avait prêté serment de fidélité au roi, qu'il n'avait eu aucune communication avec « l'usurpateur » et enfin que sa famille était connue dès les premiers jours de la Révolution « par son dévouement à l'auguste famille des Bourbons ».²

Cette lettre ne dévoilait aucunement les vrais sentiments de Stendhal envers les Bourbons et leur gouvernement réactionnaire. Il en voulait surtout à ceux qui, pour faire leur métier de courtisans, s'efforçaient de ternir la gloire de l'illustre exilé. Tout ce qu'il voyait et entendait en France le portait, au contraire, à admirer Napoléon et son gouvernement.³ Ce sont sans doute ces attaques perfides qui lui inspirèrent l'idée d'écrire la biographie de Napoléon. En effet, lorsque Stendhal rentra à Milan en novembre 1817, il se mit immédiatement en devoir de réaliser ce

projet. Il continua à y travailler jusqu'au mois de janvier 1818, et après une interruption qui dura six mois, il se remit sérieusement à l'œuvre. D'ailleurs, depuis le début de 1818, il s'intéressait à la publication du livre posthume de Mme de Staël, *Considérations sur les principaux événements de la Révolution française*,⁴ qui parut effectivement au mois de juillet. C'est aussi pour répondre à ce « libelle très habilement fait contre Napoléon » que Stendhal poussa son travail, qu'il poursuivit jusqu'au 15 août 1818. Le 25 du même mois il quittait Milan. Il avait laissé son manuscrit, qu'il ne devait plus revoir, chez son ami M. Buzzi.⁵

Stendhal se croyait d'autant plus capable d'entreprendre ce travail qu'il avait reçu, le 6 septembre 1817, un exemplaire du *Commentaire sur l'Esprit des Lois* de Destutt de Tracy.⁶ Son enthousiasme pour le *Commentaire* fut presque sans bornes. Il se mit aussitôt à le méditer et à le recommander à ses amis.⁷ En effet, pendant la période où il rédigea la *Vie de*

¹ Dans une lettre datée du 25 janvier 1818, il demandait au baron de Marest s'il laisserait « vendre en mars le livre de Madame de Staël » (*Correspondance*, V, 102). Le 22 avril il demandait encore au même si le duc de Broglie ferait « imprimer exactement le manuscrit Staël » (*ibid.*, p. 150).

² La plupart de ces précisions sur la composition de la *Vie de Napoléon* sont empruntées à M. Henri Martineau. Cf. « Préface de l'éditeur », *Vie de Napoléon* (Paris: Le Divan, 1930), I, v-vi.

³ Le 4 septembre Beyle eut l'insigne honneur de recevoir le comte Destutt de Tracy qui était venu remercier son disciple d'avoir déposé chez lui un exemplaire de l'*Histoire de la peinture en Italie*. Deux jours après, Beyle recevait, à son tour, un exemplaire du *Commentaire*. Cf. *Mélanges intimes et marginalia*, éd. H. Martineau (Paris: Le Divan, 1936), I, 381.

⁴ Cf. *Correspondance*, V, 63. Lettre au baron de Marest datée du 15 octobre 1817.

¹ Il était arrivé à Milan le 10 août 1814. Cf. *Journal*, éd. Henry Debraye et Louis Royer (Paris: Champion, 1934), V, 115.

² *Correspondance*, éd. H. Martineau (Paris: Le Divan, 1933-34), V, 55.

³ Même avant de rentrer en France, Stendhal constatait que « la meilleure recommandation pour un étranger en Italie, c'est d'être un Français attaché au gouvernement de Napoléon » (*Journal*, V, 141). Cet extrait est daté de Naples 29 janvier 1817.

Napoléon, c'est-à-dire de novembre 1817 au 15 août 1818, Stendhal prodiguera des éloges à Destutt de Tracy et continuera de se référer au *Commentaire* pour étayer ses opinions politiques.⁸

Pour composer la *Vie de Napoléon*, Stendhal mit à contribution tout ce qui lui semblait devoir être utile. Il trouva des faits chez les historiens et les mémorialistes anglais et français, dans des revues comme l'*Edinburgh review* et même dans des compilations comme la *Biographie des hommes vivants* par Michaud. Mais pour les principes il s'adressa aux philosophes et surtout à Destutt de Tracy. Dans la présente étude, nous essayerons de dégager tout ce que l'auteur de la *Vie de Napoléon* doit à l'auteur du *Commentaire*.⁹

Bien qu'il eût prit part aux campagnes de Napoléon, et qu'il ne fût point insensible à la gloire militaire de son héros,

⁸ Pour l'année 1817, cf., par exemple, *Correspondance*, V, 83-84; pour 1818, cf. *ibid.*, p. 107. Cf. aussi *Mélanges*, II, 10, pour l'annotation de Stendhal sur le manuscrit de la *Vie de Napoléon*: « Pour moi, dit-il, le dernier état de la science des gouvernements et par conséquent mon *credo* politique, c'est: *Le Commentaire sur l'Esprit des lois* de Montesquieu, imprimé à Liège, chez Desoer, en 1817. »

⁹ Louis Royer, dans son excellente édition de la *Vie de Napoléon*, se borne à déclarer que Stendhal considère le *Commentaire* « comme son bréviaire politique » et qu'il y a emprunté « un certain nombre de principes, et le début du chapitre LXXVIII » (*Vie de Napoléon* [Paris: Champion, 1929], I, xlv). Mais Royer n'indique pas quels sont ces principes ou l'usage que Stendhal en a fait. M. Henri Martineau n'a pas poussé ses recherches de ce côté-là. MM. Manuel Brussaly (*The political ideas of Stendhal* [« Publications of the Institute of French Studies, Inc. » (New York: Columbia University, 1933)]), Maxime Leroy (*Stendhal politique* [Paris: Le Divan, 1929]), Henry Dumolard (*Autour de Stendhal* [Grenoble: Arthaud, 1932]), et Gordon Brown (*Les Idées politiques et religieuses de Stendhal* [Paris: Éditions Jean-Renard, 1939]) signalent cette source, mais ils ne pouvaient guère, dans les limites de leur travail, exploiter cette veine. M. James Fred Marshall, dans sa thèse de doctorat, « *Stendhal and America* » (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Romance Languages, University of Illinois, 1948), a précisé l'influence du *Commentaire* surtout sur *Rome*, *Naples* et *Florence*. Bien que quelques-unes de nos conclusions soient les mêmes, le but que nous nous proposons dans la présente étude, entreprise il y a de longues années, diffère essentiellement de celui de M. Marshall.

c'est l'influence politique des victoires et du régime de Napoléon, aussi bien dans toute l'Europe qu'en France, que Stendhal s'efforce de préciser. Ainsi, après avoir consacré une cinquantaine de pages à des détails biographiques et aux victoires éclatantes du général de la République, Stendhal entre vraiment en matière lorsque, dans le chapitre xvii, il décrit la situation politique de la France la veille du 18 brumaire: « Ce gouvernement tombait parce qu'il n'y avait pas un Sénat conservateur pour tenir l'équilibre entre la Chambre des Communes et le Directoire. »¹⁰ C'est l'auteur du *Commentaire* qui semble avoir attiré l'attention de Stendhal sur le rôle du Sénat. Après avoir spécifié les fonctions des corps législatif et exécutif, Destutt de Tracy déclare « qu'il faut encore une pièce à la machine politique, pour qu'elle puisse se mouvoir régulièrement ». Ce corps conservateur, qui facilite et règle l'action des deux autres,¹¹ lui paraît « de la plus extrême importance » et constitue « la clef de voûte sans laquelle l'édifice n'a aucune solidité et ne peut subsister ».¹²

Selon Stendhal, c'est le Sénat qui doit nommer les membres du Directoire.¹³ Parmi les fonctions du corps conservateur, Destutt de Tracy signale celle « d'intervenir dans les élections des membres du corps exécutif, soit en recevant des corps électoraux une liste de candidats parmi lesquels il choisirait, soit au contraire en

¹⁰ *V.N.*, I, 54. C'est ainsi que nous désignerons l'édition Henri Martineau de la *Vie de Napoléon*.

¹¹ *Commentaire sur l'Esprit des lois* de Montesquieu (Liège: Desoer, 1817), p. 221.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 225. Destutt de Tracy ajoute encore « que si les Français se fussent avisés de placer ce même corps conservateur dans leur constitution de 1795 (fructidor an 3), dans laquelle le pouvoir exécutif était réellement partagé, il se serait maintenu avec succès entre le directoire et le corps législatif, il aurait empêché la lutte violente qui a eu lieu entre eux en 1797 (18 fructidor an 5), et cette nation jouirait actuellement de la liberté qui lui a toujours échappé au moment de l'atteindre » (*ibid.*, pp. 226-27).

¹³ *V.N.*, I, 54.

leur envoyant une liste de ceux entre lesquels ils devraient élire ». ¹⁴

De même que Stendhal signale les faiblesses du gouvernement de la République, il dévoile le défaut de la constitution de l'an VIII, où le Sénat nomme le Corps Législatif: « Celui-ci aurait dû être élu directement par le peuple, et le Sénat chargé de nommer chaque année un nouveau consul. » ¹⁵

La constitution que Napoléon donna aux Français était calculée pour ramener la France à la monarchie absolue. Au lieu d'établir la République ou, au moins, le gouvernement des deux Chambres, il ne songea qu'à « fonder une dynastie de rois ». Et dans une note à laquelle il renvoie le lecteur, l'auteur de la *Vie de Napoléon* nomme les parties et explique le fonctionnement du gouvernement que Napoléon aurait pu établir: « Cinq directeurs renouvelés par cinquième et nommés par un Sénat conservateur; deux chambres élues directement par le peuple, la première, parmi les gens payant mille francs d'impôts: la seconde, parmi les gens qui en payaient dix mille, et renouvelées par cinquième. » ¹⁶ Comme l'indiquent les remarques précédentes, c'est à Destutt de Tracy que Stendhal emprunte le principe politique que le Sénat doit nommer les directeurs. Quant à l'élection des chambres, voici comment l'auteur du *Commentaire* veut qu'on y procède: « Pour les membres du corps législatif, leur élection n'a rien

d'embarrassant. Ils sont nombreux, ils doivent être tirés de toutes les parties du territoire: ils peuvent être très-bien choisis par des corps électoraux, assemblés dans différentes communes, lesquels sont très-propres à choisir les deux ou trois sujets les plus capables, les mieux famés, et les plus accrédités dans une certaine étendue de pays. » ¹⁷

Il est à remarquer que Stendhal explique aussi comment les directeurs et les chambres doivent être renouvelés. Sans avoir recours à un chiffre précis, Destutt de Tracy constate « que le *pouvoir exécutif* doit être confié à un conseil composé d'un petit nombre de personnes élues pour un temps, et se renouvelant successivement; comme aussi le *pouvoir législatif* doit être remis à une assemblée plus nombreuse, formée aussi de membres nommés pour un temps limité, et se renouvelant partiellement chaque année ». ¹⁸

Après avoir décrit les corps exécutif et législatif sous le gouvernement de Napoléon, Stendhal ne manque pas de décrire le corps conservateur: « On créa un *Sénat* composé de gens qui ne pouvaient prétendre à aucune place. » ¹⁹ Destutt de Tracy déclare de même que le corps conservateur devrait être « composé d'hommes ... qui ne pourraient plus remplir aucune autre place dans la société ». ²⁰

Avec une impartialité qui lui fait honneur, Stendhal, qui avait déjà dévoilé l'ambition du Premier Consul, explique ensuite comment ce dernier s'y prit pour établir son autorité absolue. Bonaparte réussit d'autant plus facilement à priver les Français de leur liberté, qu'ils « n'en éprouvaient [guère] le besoin ». ²¹ Il se rendit bientôt compte qu'ils étaient « indifférents à la liberté », qu'ils ne la com-

¹⁴ *Commentaire*, pp. 221-22. C'est ainsi que nous désignerons l'édition précitée du *Commentaire sur l'Esprit des lois*.

¹⁵ *VN*, I, 60.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 65, n. 2. Ces réformes faisaient alors l'objet des discussions politiques. La Chambre devait être renouvelée tous les ans par cinquième. Dans une lettre datée du 21 mars 1818, Stendhal demandait au baron de Marest « if the friend of Maissonnette shall not become ultra by the fear of the imminents cinquième » (*Correspondance*, V, 117). Et il terminait sa lettre en conseillant au baron de lire Destutt de Tracy. Le *Commentaire* semble avoir aidé Stendhal à mieux comprendre les rouages de l'administration.

¹⁷ *Commentaire*, p. 218.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 216-17.

¹⁹ *VN*, I, 59.

²⁰ *Commentaire*, p. 224.

²¹ *VN*, I, 72.

prenaient ni ne l'aimaient, que « la vanité [était] leur seule passion »²² et que l'égalité, qui permettait à tous « l'espérance d'arriver à toutes les places », était « le seul droit politique dont ils fassent cas ».²³ En prêtant ces paroles à Bonaparte, Stendhal s'inspire des remarques de Destutt de Tracy sur la liberté. En bon idéologue, l'auteur du *Commentaire* commence par démontrer que l'idée de liberté et celle de bonheur sont identiques. Selon lui, « l'idée de liberté ... n'est autre que l'idée de la puissance d'exécuter sa volonté; et être libre, en général, c'est pouvoir faire ce qu'on veut ».²⁴ Il s'ensuit que plus un homme peut exécuter sa volonté—c'est-à-dire plus il peut satisfaire ses désirs—plus il est heureux. Le bonheur et la liberté étant, par conséquent, la même chose, tout homme aime naturellement la liberté. De là, Destutt de Tracy tire la conséquence que la liberté ne saurait exister que par rapport aux désirs des hommes. Il leur arrive souvent de désirer des choses nuisibles ou peu importantes en elles-mêmes. Mais quelle que soit leur idée du bonheur, chaque fois qu'on les a empêchés de faire la chose à laquelle ils attachaient ce bonheur, ils ont été malheureux. Destutt de Tracy en conclut que « chacun est vraiment libre quand ses inclinations sont satisfaites, et l'on ne peut pas l'être d'une autre manière ».²⁵

En satisfaisant la vanité des Français et en leur accordant l'égalité politique, Napoléon rendit la plupart des Français heureux et par conséquent libres. Il put ainsi leur ôter la liberté de la presse et la

liberté individuelle, puisqu'ils y étaient alors indifférents.²⁶

D'ailleurs, au moment où Napoléon établissait son pouvoir, les Français n'étaient pas assez éclairés pour connaître ou désirer la véritable liberté. Donc, en les privant de certains droits, Napoléon ne fit pas leur malheur. Voilà l'idée que Stendhal fait ressortir dans le passage suivant:

On n'a jamais que le degré de liberté auquel on pense. Donc pour être libre, il faut le vouloir. Napoléon n'était donc pas le véritable obstacle à la liberté en France. Cet obstacle est encore la vieille éducation de la monarchie. ... Donc Napoléon qui les [les Français] a rendus heureux et contents douze ans n'est pas si exécrationnel. Son plus grand crime est celui-ci: il eût pu avancer leur éducation.²⁷

C'est encore chez Destutt de Tracy que Stendhal avait découvert les idées qui servent de base à ce développement. L'auteur du *Commentaire* soutient « qu'une nation doit être regardée comme vraiment libre tant que son gouvernement lui plaît, quand même par sa nature, il serait moins conforme aux principes de la liberté qu'un autre qui lui déplairait ».²⁸ Par exemple, les Français, au lieu d'être libres sous leur constitution de l'an III (1795), « quelque libre qu'elle pût être », ont été assujettis, parce qu'ils n'en voulaient pas. Destutt de Tracy en conclut « que les institutions ne peuvent s'améliorer que proportionnellement à l'accroissement des lumières dans la masse du peuple, et que les meilleures *absolument*, ne sont pas toujours les meilleures *relativement*; car plus elles sont bonnes, plus elles sont contraires aux idées fausses; et si elles en choquent un trop grand nombre, elles ne peuvent se maintenir que par un emploi exagéré

²² Selon Stendhal, Napoléon, après son mariage avec « la petite fille de Marie Thérèse », eut tort de vouloir forcer la vieille noblesse à entrer à la cour: « Il choquait la passion unique du peuple: la vanité. Tant qu'il n'avait choqué que la liberté, tout le monde avait admiré » (*ibid.*, p. 206).

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

²⁴ *Commentaire*, p. 154.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 156-59.

²⁶ *VN*, I, 73.

²⁷ *Vie de Napoléon*, éd. L. Royer (Paris: Champion, 1929), I, 357, en Appendice.

²⁸ *Commentaire*, p. 159.

de la force. Dès lors plus de liberté, plus de bonheur, plus de stabilité surtout ».²⁹

C'est faute d'avoir fait ce raisonnement que Napoléon échoua en Espagne. A Valladolid, il demanda ce que voulaient les Espagnols :

On lui disait qu'ils étaient mécontents; là-dessus il entreprit de prouver qu'ils avaient tort, que le mécontentement n'était pas possible; qu'un peuple raisonne toujours juste sur ses intérêts, que les Espagnols avaient à gagner la dime, l'égalité, les droits féodaux, la diminution de l'hydre du clergé. On lui répondait que, d'abord, l'Espagne, ne sachant rien de l'état de l'Europe, n'avait d'yeux pour voir ces avantages; mais qu'en revanche, elle avait la fierté de ne vouloir avoir d'obligation à personne; qu'enfin ce peuple était comme la femme de Sganarelle, qui voulait être battue.³⁰

Ni les Français ni les Espagnols n'étaient assez éclairés pour désirer la véritable liberté. Mais tandis que le degré de liberté que Napoléon accorda aux Français les rendit heureux, les Espagnols étaient beaucoup trop arriérés pour être contents sous un régime relativement si libéral, et en voulant le leur imposer, Napoléon fit leur malheur.

D'ailleurs, Napoléon essaya de donner à l'Espagne, qui était trop corrompue pour se la donner elle-même, toute la liberté dont elle était alors en mesure de recevoir: « Après la cession de l'Espagne par les princes de la dynastie... », Napoléon voulait réunir une assemblée, établir une constitution, et, au moyen du poids et du prestige de sa puissance, donner le mouvement à la nouvelle machine. L'Espagne était peut-être le pays d'Europe où Napoléon était le plus admiré. »³¹

En précisant ainsi les projets formés par Napoléon pour l'établissement d'une nouvelle forme de gouvernement en Espagne, Stendhal se souvient peut-être que Des-

tutt de Tracy affirme qu'« une nation ne doit entreprendre de se donner une nouvelle constitution, qu'après avoir remis tous les pouvoirs de la société entre les mains d'une autorité favorable à ces desseins ». Après avoir constaté que « c'est là le préalable nécessaire », Destutt de Tracy ajoute que « cette autorité provisoire, en convoquant une assemblée, chargée de constituer, ne doit lui remettre que cette seule fonction, et se réserver toujours le droit de faire aller la machine jusqu'au moment de sa complète rénovation. ... »³²

De même que les ennemis de Napoléon ont méconnu son rôle politique en Espagne, ils n'ont pas manqué de lui reprocher ses nombreuses guerres. Stendhal soutient, au contraire, que Napoléon « agit dans toutes les occasions en ami chaud et sincère de la paix », et il fut « le premier homme marquant de la République française qui mit des limites à son agrandissement et cherchât franchement à redonner la tranquillité au monde ». ³³ A l'exception de la guerre d'Espagne, où on l'accusa peut-être avec raison d'être l'agresseur, « ce fut en repoussant les attaques de ses voisins qu'il étendit son empire ». ³⁴ Quant à la guerre contre les Russes, elle était nécessaire. Dès l'époque de la paix de Tilsitt en 1807, « tous les militaires prédirent que, s'il y avait jamais lutte entre la Russie et la France, cette lutte serait décisive pour un des deux pays; et ce n'était pas la France qui avait les plus belles chances. Sa supériorité apparente tenait à la vie d'un homme. La force de la Russie croissait rapidement, et tenait à la force des choses; de plus, la Russie était inattaquable ». De là, Stendhal tire la conclusion: « Rien ne fut donc plus sage que le projet de guerre contre la Russie, et, comme le premier

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 160-61.

³⁰ *V.N.*, I, 162-63.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 145.

³² *Commentaire*, p. 181.

³³ *V.N.*, I, 18-19.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 335-36.

droit de tout individu est de se conserver, rien ne fut plus juste. »³⁵

Les raisons alléguées par Stendhal pour défendre les guerres et les conquêtes de Napoléon sont à peu près les mêmes qu'avance Destutt de Tracy :

Le droit de faire la guerre qu'à une collection d'hommes vient du droit qu'à chacun de ces hommes ... de défendre sa personne et ses intérêts; car c'est pour les défendre avec moins de peine et plus de succès, qu'il s'est réuni en société avec d'autres hommes, et qu'il a ainsi converti son droit de défense personnelle, en celui de faire la guerre conjointement avec eux.³⁶

Quant au droit de faire des conquêtes, l'auteur du *Commentaire* l'explique ainsi :

Du droit de faire la guerre dérive le droit de faire des conquêtes. Réunir à son territoire tout le pays du peuple vaincu ou du moins une partie, est le moyen de constater sa supériorité, de tirer avantage de ses succès, de diminuer la puissance de l'ennemi en augmentant la sienne, et d'assurer sa tranquillité à l'avenir.³⁷

Stendhal et Destutt de Tracy expliquent donc le droit de faire la guerre et celui de faire des conquêtes en disant qu'ils dérivent tous les deux du droit qu'à tout individu à sa propre conservation.³⁸

D'ailleurs, Napoléon ne sut pas toujours profiter de ses conquêtes. Puisque la nouvelle république française « ne pouvait vivre qu'en s'entourant de républiques », Napoléon se montra trop indulgent envers le pape lors du traité de Tolentino : « Il fut obligé d'exécuter neuf

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 227-28. Stendhal fut parmi les premiers à prévoir le danger venant de l'Est : « La Russie a toujours cru, depuis Pierre le Grand, qu'elle serait, en 1819, la maîtresse de l'Europe, si elle avait le courage de vouloir, et l'Amérique est désormais la seule puissance qui puisse lui résister » (*ibid.*, p. 227).

³⁶ *Commentaire*, p. 137.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

³⁸ Selon Stendhal, c'est en vertu de ce droit que Napoléon fit condamner à mort le duc d'Enghien : « Le juste droit de ma défense personnelle, le juste soin de la tranquillité publique me décidèrent contre le duc d'Enghien » (VN, I, 93).

ans plus tard et avec beaucoup de danger, ce qu'il pouvait faire alors avec six mille hommes. » Il eut tort aussi de conclure la paix de Campo Formio, car « il était chimérique de croire à aucune paix solide entre la nouvelle république et les vieilles aristocraties de l'Europe ». ³⁹ Lorsqu'il devint empereur, il ne se montra guère plus clairvoyant. Après avoir vaincu la Prusse, « Napoléon commit la faute qui l'a précipité du trône ». Au lieu de mettre des souverains de son choix sur les trônes de Prusse et d'Autriche et de donner à ces deux pays le gouvernement des deux Chambres et des constitutions à demi-libérales, « il abandonna le vieux principe des Jacobins de chercher des alliés contre les rois dans le cœur de leurs sujets. Comme nouveau roi, il ménageait déjà dans le cœur des peuples, le respect pour le trône ». ⁴⁰ Si Napoléon avait pris ce parti, les peuples allemands auraient appris à aimer la liberté, et au bout de trois ou quatre ans, ils « auraient eu pour lui un profond sentiment de reconnaissance ». Leurs souverains n'auraient eu ni la force ni la volonté « de se laisser soudoyer par l'Angleterre pour se coaliser contre la France ». ⁴¹

Le principe auquel se rattachent ces développements semble remonter à Destutt de Tracy, qui fait ressortir l'importance, pour une nation victorieuse, de se concilier les sujets des nations conquises. Selon l'auteur du *Commentaire*, l'affirmation de Montesquieu, que « souvent un peuple gagne beaucoup à être conquis », est surtout vraie quand la nation victorieuse jouit d'un gouvernement représentatif :

C'est là ce qui rend ce gouvernement si redoutable à tous les autres; car, dans leurs querelles avec lui, les intérêts de leurs propres

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

sujets sont contre eux... Si les Français avaient bien profité de cet immense avantage, en ne s'écartant pas de leurs principes, après s'être donné les limites naturelles qu'ils pouvaient désirer, ils se seraient très-prompement entourés d'états constitués comme le leur, qui, en lui servant de barrières, auraient assuré sa tranquillité à jamais.⁴²

Tout en reconnaissant l'ambition de Napoléon et les défauts de son régime, Stendhal s'efforce, dans la *Vie de Napoléon*, de signaler le manque de légitimité qui marqua dès le début le régime des Bourbons. Après l'exil de l'empereur dans l'île d'Elbe, « le sénat fit une constitution qui était un contrat entre le peuple et un homme. Cette constitution appelait au trône Louis-Stanislas-Xavier ». Mais entraîné par ses conseillers le roi refusa, par sa proclamation de Saint-Ouen, la constitution du sénat.⁴³ On lui en présenta alors une sorte d'extrait, que les « législateurs les plus moutons que l'on pût trouver », mirent en articles et qu'on appela la charte. « Aucun de ces pauvres gens, ajoute Stendhal, n'eût l'idée qu'il faisait une transaction entre les partis qui divisaient la France. »⁴⁴

En appelant la constitution « un contrat entre le peuple et un homme », Stendhal se souvient peut-être des remarques de Destutt de Tracy à l'égard des trois partis que peut prendre une nation nombreuse et éclairée qui cherche à se donner une constitution: « Le premier... est à peu près celui qu'ont pris les Anglais en 1688, lorsqu'ils ont consenti, au moins tacitement, à ce que leur parlement chassât Jacques II, reçut Guillaume 1^{er}, et fit avec lui une convention qu'ils appellent leur constitution. ... »⁴⁵

⁴² *Commentaire*, pp. 147-48.

⁴³ VN, I, 280-85.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 285. Stendhal dira encore, dans le chapitre lxxxi, que la charte « est une transaction amical entre les partis qui divisent la France » (*ibid.*, p. 297). C'est Stendhal qui souligne.

⁴⁵ *Commentaire*, p. 177.

En ce qui concerne la définition que donne Stendhal de la charte faite par les législateurs, elle semble, elle aussi, être calquée sur les remarques de Destutt de Tracy, qui constate que ce premier moyen d'établir une constitution « ne produira qu'une espèce de transaction entre les différentes autorités ».⁴⁶

Afin de mieux marquer les faiblesses et les abus de la Restauration, Stendhal établit une distinction entre les bons et les mauvais gouvernements. Il commence par condamner la division des gouvernements adoptée par Montesquieu; il soutient, au contraire, « qu'il n'y a que deux sortes de gouvernements: les gouvernements nationaux et les gouvernements spéciaux ».⁴⁷ Il explique ainsi ce qu'il entend par ces deux termes:

A la première classe appartiennent tous les gouvernements où l'on tient pour principe que *tous les droits et tous les pouvoirs appartiennent toujours au corps entier de la nation, résident en lui, sont émanés de lui et n'existent que par lui et pour lui.*

Nous appelons *gouvernements spéciaux* tous ceux, quels qu'ils soient, où l'on reconnaît d'autres sources légitimes de droits et de pouvoirs que la volonté générale: tels que l'autorité divine, la naissance, un pacte social exprès ou tacite où les partis stipulent comme puissances étrangères l'une à l'autre.⁴⁸

Stendhal indique lui-même en note qu'il a emprunté cette division au *Commentaire*.⁴⁹ Destutt de Tracy dit en effet que la division ordinaire des gouvernements en « républicains, monarchiques et despotiques » lui paraît essentiellement « vicieuse ». Il partage donc tous les gouvernements en deux classes, « les uns nationaux ou de droit commun, et les

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

⁴⁷ VN, I, 289. C'est Stendhal qui souligne.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* C'est Stendhal qui souligne.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, en note. Stendhal se réfère aux pp. 13 et 14 du *Commentaire*. Le début du premier passage cité se trouve à la p. 12.

autres *spéciaux* ou de droit particulier et d'exceptions ». ⁵⁰ Et il les décrit ainsi :

De quelque manière qu'ils soient organisés, je rangerai dans la première classe tous ceux où l'on tient pour principe, que tous les droits et tous les pouvoirs appartiennent au corps entier de la nation, résident en lui, sont émanés de lui, et n'existent que par et pour lui. ...

J'appelle, au contraire, gouvernemens *spéciaux* ou d'exceptions, tous ceux quels qu'ils soient, où l'on reconnaît d'autres sources légitimes de droits et de pouvoirs que la volonté générale, comme l'autorité divine, la conquête, la naissance dans tel lieu ou dans telle caste, des capitulations respectives, un pacte social exprès ou tacite, où les parties stipulent, comme puissances étrangères l'une à l'autre, etc., etc. ⁵¹

En empruntant cette division des gouvernements à Destutt de Tracy, Stendhal voulait faire entendre que le régime de Louis XVIII était d'autant plus « spécial » que la charte imposée au peuple français était « vicieuse par le fond » et n'était « pas même un contrat entre le peuple et un homme, comme la constitution d'Angleterre en 1688 ». ⁵²

Après avoir écarté la division des gouvernements établie par Montesquieu et adopté celle proposée par Destutt de Tracy, Stendhal trace l'histoire des progrès de l'esprit humain en ce qui concerne l'art de gouverner :

La démocratie ou le despotisme sont les premiers gouvernements qui se présentent aux hommes au sortir de l'état sauvage; c'est le premier degré de civilisation. L'aristocratie sous un ou plusieurs chefs—et le royaume de France avant 1789 n'était qu'une aristocratie religieuse et militaire, de robe et d'épée—l'aristocratie, quelque nom qu'on lui donne, a partout remplacé ces gouvernements informes. C'est le second degré de civilisation. Le gou-

vernement représentatif sous un ou plusieurs chefs est une invention nouvelle et très nouvelle qui forme et constate un troisième degré de civilisation. Cette invention sublime, produit tardif mais produit nécessaire de l'invention de l'imprimerie, est postérieure à Montesquieu. ⁵³

C'est dans le chapitre xiii du *Commentaire*, où Destutt de Tracy résumait les douze premiers livres de l'*Esprit des lois*, que Stendhal avait trouvé la citation qui sert d'armature à cet aperçu. L'auteur du *Commentaire* s'exprimait ainsi :

Je trouve que la marche de l'esprit humain est progressive dans la science sociale comme dans toutes les autres; que la *démocratie* ou le *despotisme* sont les premiers gouvernements imaginés par les hommes, et marquent le *premier degré* de civilisation; que l'*aristocratie* sous un ou plusieurs chefs, quelque nom qu'on lui donne, a partout remplacé ces gouvernements informes, et constitue un *second degré* de civilisation, et que la *représentation* sous un ou plusieurs chefs, est une invention nouvelle qui forme et constate un *troisième degré* de civilisation. ⁵⁴

C'est encore dans le *Commentaire* que Stendhal a puisé les renseignements supplémentaires qu'il insère dans son aperçu. Destutt de Tracy soutient que la démocratie pure « est un gouvernement de sauvages » et la monarchie pure « un gouvernement de barbares ». Tous les deux finiront par éprouver des altérations, puisqu'ils ne sont que « l'enfance de la société, et l'état presque nécessaire de toute nation commençante ». ⁵⁵ L'ancien gouvernement de France, déclare ailleurs Destutt de Tracy, était « une aristocratie religieuse et féodale, tant de robe que d'épée ». ⁵⁶ Il affirme enfin qu'on

⁵⁰ V N, I, 330.

⁵¹ *Commentaire*, p. 243. C'est Destutt de Tracy qui souligne.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 73. Destutt de Tracy assimile la « monarchie pure » au « despotisme ».

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁵⁰ *Commentaire*, p. 12.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 12-14.

⁵² Cf. V N, I, 289-90. Cf. aussi ci-dessus.

« peut regarder la représentation ... comme une invention nouvelle, qui était encore inconnue du temps de Montesquieu ». Après avoir constaté qu'elle « n'était guère possible à réaliser avant l'invention de l'imprimerie », il ajoute: « Il n'est pas étonnant qu'elle n'ait été imaginée qu'environ trois siècles après la découverte de cet art qui a changé la face de l'univers. Il fallait qu'il eût déjà opéré de biens grands effets, avant qu'il pût faire naître une pareille idée ».⁵⁷

Stendhal attachait d'autant plus de prix à cette esquisse des progrès accomplis dans le domaine de la science politique qu'il pouvait s'en servir pour défendre son héros et attaquer la formation intellectuelle des jeunes gens sous l'ancien régime. « Un des malheurs de l'Europe, dit-il, c'est que Napoléon ait été élevé dans un collège royal, c'est-à-dire en un lieu où une éducation sophistiquée et communément donnée par des prêtres est toujours à cinquante ans en arrière du

siècle. Elevé dans un établissement étranger au gouvernement, il eût peut-être étudié Hume et Montesquieu; il eût peut-être compris la force que l'opinion donne au gouvernement. »⁵⁸ Il revient à cette idée vers la fin de la *Vie de Napoléon*. « Napoléon, dit-il, fut ce qu'a jamais produit de mieux le second degré de civilisation », et « il ne comprit jamais le troisième ». « Où l'aurait-il étudié? Certainement pas à Brienne; les livres philosophiques ou traduits de l'anglais ne pénétraient pas dans les collèges royaux et il n'a pas eu le temps de lire depuis le collège. »⁵⁹

C'est Destutt de Tracy qui semble avoir contribué à renforcer chez Stendhal l'idée que la monarchie a exercé une influence pernicieuse sur la formation intellectuelle des jeunes gens.⁶⁰ A propos de l'éducation des maîtres, l'auteur du *Commentaire* affirme que le gouvernement « peut y influencer très-puissamment et très-directement par les différents établissements publics d'enseignement qu'il crée ou qu'il favorise, et par les livres élémentaires qu'il y admet ou qu'il en rejette ».⁶¹ Il s'ensuit que si Napoléon eût vécu sous un gouvernement représentatif, sa formation intellectuelle eût été tout à fait différente car, comme l'explique encore Destutt de Tracy, ce gouvernement qui a intérêt à ce que les lumières se propagent « et que

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 24-25. A propos de la police de Napoléon, « mal nécessaire » dans un gouvernement fondé sur la force, Stendhal décrit une fois de plus le gouvernement représentatif et la corruption des sujets dans un gouvernement monarchique: « Dans tout gouvernement qui n'est pas fondé uniquement pour l'utilité de tous en suivant la raison et la justice, dans tout gouvernement où les sujets sont corrompus et ne demandent pas mieux que d'échanger des droits contre des privilèges, je crains qu'une police soit nécessaire » (*VN*, I, 260, n. 2). Stendhal emprunte cette description des gouvernements représentatifs et monarchiques à Destutt de Tracy, qui déclare d'abord que « le principe des gouvernements fondés sur les droits des hommes, est la raison » (*Commentaire*, p. 241). Et il explique ensuite « que le principe conservateur » de ces gouvernements « est l'amour des individus pour la liberté et l'égalité, ou, si l'on veut, pour la paix et la justice » (*ibid.*, p. 25). Sous cette forme de gouvernement les individus ne chercheraient pas « à obtenir de l'autorité la possession des droits de quelques autres individus ou une portion de la fortune publique ». Ils envisageraient toute injustice faite à leur voisin par la force publique comme un danger qui les menace directement, et aucune faveur personnelle ne saurait les en consoler; « car s'ils venaient une fois à préférer de tels avantages à la sûreté de ceux qu'ils possèdent, ils seraient bientôt portés à mettre les gouvernants en état de disposer de tout à leur gré, afin d'en être favorisés » (*ibid.*, pp. 25-26).

⁵⁸ *VN*, I, 6.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 331. Stendhal attachait tant d'importance à cette idée qu'il se proposait d'insérer l'annotation suivante dans la *Vie de Napoléon*: « C'est l'éducation ... des collèges royaux qui, proscrivant Helvétius et Montesquieu, a gâté la plus belle âme et le plus grand génie des temps modernes au point d'en faire l'empereur des Français » (*VN*, éd. L. Royer, p. 356).

⁶⁰ Helvétius, que Stendhal s'était remis à lire au début de 1818 (*Correspondance*, V, 107), a certainement contribué, lui aussi, à signaler à l'auteur de la *Vie de Napoléon* les défauts de l'éducation « monarchique » et surtout celle des prêtres.

⁶¹ *Commentaire*, pp. 36-37.

toutes les erreurs s'évanouissent, ne croira pas atteindre ce but ... en donnant ... des livres élémentaires privilégiés ».⁶²

En examinant le régime de Napoléon et celui des Bourbons, Stendhal a pris pour modèle le gouvernement représentatif, tel que le décrivait Destutt de Tracy. A la lumière du *Commentaire*, il a mieux vu les défauts du Consulat et de l'Empire. Mais ce livre lui a permis, en même temps, d'expliquer le bonheur des Français sous Napoléon. S'il a commis l'erreur de ne pas les rendre véritablement libres en avançant leur éducation, la

faute en est à l'éducation monarchique qu'il reçut lui-même. Par contre, la Restauration, au lieu de se rapprocher du gouvernement représentatif, revenait aux privilèges et aux abus de l'ancien régime, et c'est en partie en ayant recours à la description des gouvernements faite par Destutt de Tracy que Stendhal a réussi à signaler les vices du régime de Louis XVIII.

Ainsi donc, à l'aide du *Commentaire*, qu'il appelait son *credo* politique, Stendhal a réussi à dresser le bilan de Napoléon et à répondre aux attaques perfides de ses détracteurs.

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⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 66.

A SUGGESTED BACKGROUND FOR NEWMAN'S *DREAM OF GERONTIUS*

ESTHER R. B. PESE

THE originality of the vision of death and judgment in Newman's *Dream of Gerontius* seems to most readers the poem's most remarkable feature. The theological base of the whole work is a point of Catholic doctrine which has not often inspired Catholic writers—the doctrine of the particular judgment, which holds that every human soul is judged in isolation, immediately after death, as well as at the Last Day in the throng of all who ever lived.¹ The doctrine itself contains no suggestion of the element which gives the poem its character of imagina-

¹ Augustine sets a firm precedent for Catholic acceptance of the doctrine of particular judgment. In the second book of the *De anima et ejus origine* (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, Vol. XLIV, col. 498, No. 8) he is writing to the presbyter Peter about the works on the soul written by one unfortunate Vincentius Victor, whose utterances Augustine characterizes as either hopelessly vain and erroneous or hopelessly commonplace and platitudinous. Victor's discussion of the particular judgment comes under the latter category: "Nam illud quod rectissime et valde salubriter credit, iudicari animas cum de corporibus exierint antequam veniant ad illud iudicium, quo eas oportet jam redditae corporibus iudicari, atque in ipsa in qua hic vixerunt, carne torqueri, sive gloriari: hoc itane tandem ipse nesciebas? Quis adversus Evangelium tanta obstinatione mentis obscuruit, ut in illo paupere qui post mortem ablatum est in sinum Abrahae, et in illo divite cujus in inferno cruciatus exponitur, ista non audiat, vel audita non credat?" In short, there is no excuse for any Catholic's being either ignorant or skeptical of the doctrine.

About the formal incorporation of the doctrine into the body of dogma, the *Catholic encyclopaedia* (VIII, 550) says: "Although there has been no formal definition on this point, the dogma is clearly implied in the Union Decree of Eugene IV (1439) which declares that souls quitting their bodies in a state of grace, but in need of purification, are cleansed in Purgatory, whereas souls that are perfectly pure are at once admitted to the beatific vision of the Godhead . . . those who depart in actual mortal sin, or merely with original sin . . . consigned at once to eternal punishment."

tive audacity—the journey of the individual soul, after its release from the body, through a mysterious region of the upper air, past a concourse of evil demons, to the "judgment court," where the soul is to be judged and prepared for purification. What is the background, in Newman's intellect and sensibility, of this singular visualization?

The Abbé Bremond believes that the background is confined to Newman's personal imagination and that the *Dream* is prepared in the visionary passages of the *Parochial sermons*:

All this is the work of a great artist; all this heralds and promises the marvelous *Dream of Gerontius*, that unique work devoted to making visible, palpable, and luminous the two moments which follow the latest breath of the Christian, the separation of soul and body and the judgment.²

But from Newman's own testimony we can gather that he was conscious of the fact that other writers had had a share in the process of visualization. In a letter to the Rev. J. Telford he says: "I have said what I saw. Various spiritual writers see various aspects of it; and under their protection and pattern I have set down the dream as it came before the sleeper."³

I will re-examine briefly the movement of the poem before attempting to identify the literary sources. It will be remembered

² H. Bremond, *The mystery of Newman*, trans. H. C. Corrance (London, 1907); Part II, chap. 1, p. 143.

³ Wilfrid Ward, *The life of John Henry, Cardinal Newman* (New York, 1912), II, 78.

that the *Dream* opens with Gerontius on his deathbed:

Jesu, Maria—I am near to death,
And thou art calling me. . . .⁴

The sensation of the approach of death is described; the Choir of Assistants around the deathbed begins to chant a litany for the soul; Gerontius himself takes up the prayer but interrupts himself to speak again of the terrible moments of struggle and fear:

I can no more: for now it comes again,
That sense of ruin which is worse than pain,
That masterful negation and collapse
Of all that makes me man. . . .

And, crueller still,
A fierce and restless fright begins to fill
The mansion of my soul.

Here the sensation is given a visible form:

Some bodily form of ill
Floats on the wind. . . .
Tainting the hallowed air, and
laughs, and flaps
Its hideous wings.

Gerontius finally sinks into death as the choir goes on with its chant. The priest speaks,

Proficiscere, anima Christiana, de hoc
mundo!

and introduces the journey motif in a conventional phrase,

Go forth upon thy journey, Christian soul!

The idea of this journey is elaborated in his speech. Now the soul of Gerontius, released from the flesh, speaks of its perceptions; it is rushing on a mysterious, airy course:

. . . the vast universe, where I have dwelt
Is quitting me, or I am quitting it,
Or I or it is rushing on the wings
Of light or lightning on an onward course,

but the soul is not alone. It becomes aware of the presence of a guide, who is its Guardian Angel, personally responsible for its journey toward salvation. The soul finally gets up courage to address this august presence and makes inquiries about the situation:

I ever had believed

That on the moment when the struggling
soul
Quitted its mortal case, forthwith it fell
Under the Awful Presence of its God,
There to be judged and sent to its own place.

The Angel answers that the soul is even now on its way to this judgment. After a theological elucidation of the doctrine of particular judgment, a sudden "hubbub" breaks upon the travelers. The Angel explains:

We are now arrived

Close on the judgment court; that sullen
howl
Is from the demons who assemble there.
It is the middle region where of old
Satan appeared. . . .
So now his legions throng the vestibule
Hungry and wild, to claim their property
And gather souls for hell.

As the soul gradually comes to understand the nature of these spirits and something of the nature of the judgment to come, a Choir of Angelicals is heard; the travelers are inside the House of Judgment. They pass through various stages, marked by the songs of other Choirs of Angelicals.⁵ Then, as the judgment approaches, the Angel of the Agony intercedes for the suffering souls of all the dead; the soul of Gerontius now passes before its God. After a chorus of Souls in Purgatory, the

⁴ The view of the Fall of Man presented in these Choirs of Angelicals has some unconventional features. Cf. the Rt. Rev. Abbot Horne, F.S.A., "The Dream of Gerontius and the Fall of Man," *Dublin review*, No. 435 (October, 1945), pp. 188-93.

⁵ J. H. Newman, *The dream of Gerontius* (London, 1865).

Angel is shown bending over the soul to cleanse it in purifying waters:

Softly and gently, dearly-ransomed soul
In my most loving arms I now enfold thee,
And o'er the penal waters, as they roll,
I poise thee and I lower thee and hold
thee . . .

and the poem closes on the note of serene reassurance,

Swiftly shall pass thy night of trial here,
And I will come and wake thee on the
morrow.

Whether one agrees or disagrees with the Abbé Bremond as to the distinction of the *Dream* as poetry, certainly he seems justified in calling this a "unique work." As C. F. Harrold reminds us in his distinguished book on Newman's intellectual development,⁶ the "middle decades of the Victorian era were highly sensitive to the poetry of death; in the 'forties and 'fifties, Bailey's *Festus*, a philosophical drama of the supernatural, somewhat suggestive of Goethe's *Faust*, was widely popular; and Tennyson's *In memoriam* (1850) had become a classic statement of the enigmas of death." This current interest made Newman's poem an immediate success. Read in the light of this nineteenth-century poetry of death, the *Dream* has a quality of isolation and strangeness, an air of highly individual fervor and daring. Is the strongly marked character of the poem due to the force of Newman's personal feelings about the theme, or is there a tradition to which the poem can be linked?

Newman the medievalist and anti-quarian in church matters must have been familiar with the great and terrible eleventh-century hymn of St. Peter Damian, the *De die mortis rhythmus*. An examination of these magnificent stanzas seems to me to reveal one important inspiration of

Newman's conception of the soul's journey.

The opening lines deal again with the terror of approaching death and the evocation in physical terms of the dread of dying, accompanied by the dread of the judgment:

Gravi me terrore pulsas, vitae dies ultima,
Moeret cor, solvuntur renes, laesa tremunt viscera,
Tui speciem dum sibi mens depingit anxia.⁷

The violent realism of the medieval imagination disappears in the watered-down Victorian spiritual sensibility; and Newman, never distinguished for the ability to render things imagined into sharp sensory terms, could not have managed the swift transmission of the sensations of death's physical aspects; but the material is the same:

Perit sensus, lingua riget, resolvuntur oculi,
Pectus palpitat, anhelat raucum guttur
hominis,
Stupent membra, pallent ora, decor abit corporis.

The agonies of the flesh are aggravated by the torments of the mind: first, the appalled consciousness beholds the diverse parts that have composed the spirit separating into opposing groups, the virtues here, the throng of personal demons there. The next stanzas describe the pains of conscience, the meditation of the torn mind on the treacherous graces of the flesh.

The eighth stanza brings the great break in feeling which corresponds to the passage of the soul from mortal coils to the realm of the eternal:

Utque mens in summae lucis gloriam sustollitur.

The development in Newman's poem is to a large degree the counterpart of this: the final struggle between flesh and spirit, the

⁷ Text in Dreyes, *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, XLVIII, 62; also in Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, Vol. CXLV, col. 977.

⁶ John Henry Newman (New York, 1945), p. 277.

terror and the anguish, then the release; the consciousness of the soul that it is in a new element of freedom but still committed to a hazardous adventure. Now comes the journey motif, as in the Priest's speech in *Gerontius*:

Sed egressa durum iter experitur anima.

Here a great difference in conception appears. The implacable imagination of Peter Damian would not allow him to conceive the solacing figure of the guide. The soul must make its journey alone; and there is an immediate announcement of the perils to come:

Quam incurrant furiosa dirae pestis agmina.

The soul must wage its own struggle against a host of demons. These attack and pursue it in a sort of middle place, which seems to have little relation to earth, heaven, or conventional hell. It is to hell that the demons wish to fling their prey, as Newman also saw them, gathering souls for hell:

His quos attrahunt, aeternis mancipant incendiis.

Now at length comes the appeal of the soul for its guide. The poet takes the soul back again to the moment of death; it has foreseen the struggle to come and prays to Christ to bring aid and guidance at the crucial moment:

Quaeso, Christe, rex invicte, tu succurre misero,

Sub extremae sortis hora, cum jussus abiero:
Nullum in me jus tyranno praebeatur impio.

The soul in a sudden burst of confidence, parallel to that of Gerontius, foresees the victorious passage to salvation as a redeemed sinner, under the guidance of the shepherd:

Cedat princeps tenebrarum, cedat pars tartarea,

Pastor ovem jam redemptum tunc reducat ad patriam,

and the poem closes again on a note of the certainty of eternal security in blessed company,

Ubi te videndi causa perfruar in saecula.

The figure of Christ is merged both with God himself and with the Guardian Angel of Newman's vision.

The portrayal of the moment of death; the journey; the passages about the demons that bar the way; the final note of divine aid, not only mercy but divine effort on the soul's behalf—these are the points in common, and they are the focal points of both poems. The diluted Miltonic demons of Newman, never much of a menace, pale beside the writhing, swollen serpents and fanged monsters of Damian, and the sense of peril is very much attenuated. But it might as well be stated flatly that the relation in emotional quality between Newman and Damian, as apparent in these two poems, is the relation between tepidity and white heat.

Did Newman know the Damian hymn? It seems almost impossible that he should not have known it. It is by no means an obscure text. John Mason Neale had translated it for the volumes of *Medieval hymns and sequences* which appeared in 1852-54, ten years before the composition of the *Dream*. Both this hymn and the still better-known *Ad perennis vitae fontem* were, by 1864, familiar to students of hymnology, a part of recognized tradition. The Damian volumes of the *Patrologia Latina* came out in 1853.

The classic type of medieval judgment hymn is represented by the *Dies irae* and by the *Me receptet Sion illa* of Hildebert of Lavardin—a vision of the general judgment. In Damian's rendition, as in Newman's, the panorama of judgment, in which all men are wretched brothers, is never evoked, and the soul is alone except for supernatural enemies or friends.

The adventure is conceived entirely from the individual's point of view. Why did the doctrine of the particular judgment rather than the general lay hold so strongly on the imagination of Peter Damian and, perhaps through Damian, on the mind of Cardinal Newman? Why did both see it as a devil-haunted journey of the lonely soul?

It seems to me very evident that both poems have a common background in a great and voluminous tradition: that vast body of medieval literature which deals with visions, dreams, apparitions, transporting the soul to the world of the dead. This literature has inspired a number of scholarly studies.⁸ An early and valuable one was E. J. Becker's *A contribution to the comparative study of the medieval visions of heaven and hell*, published at Johns Hopkins as a doctoral dissertation in 1899. Becker describes the typical vision, in which a man either in a trance or in a Lazarus-like temporary death is guided by some heavenly being to an upper-air region, where he beholds the regions of heaven and hell, sometimes purgatory. He demonstrates also how this literary type develops from a long tradition in Western and oriental antiquity to a point where it is a most popular and effective aid to clerical writers and preachers in their struggle to keep a firm grip on the imaginations of their parishioners. The vision device was used to lend visual reality and emotional power to the threats of the clergy about the dire fate of the sinful, and particularly of those whose surviving

relatives failed to observe due rites for the dead.⁹ The vision appears in several forms in the *Historia ecclesiastica* of Bede, who apparently perceived its practicality as a support for the doctrine of purgatory from the use made of it by Gregory the Great.¹⁰ I will give some brief recapitulations of Bede's visions as models of the type.

In the Vision of Fursa or Furseus¹¹ the hero, who has fallen into a swoon, is guided by three angels to heaven. His first stay is short; during it he sees the choirs of angels and hears them singing to the glory of the Lord. He is conducted again to heaven and on his way has to endure attacks by fires of sin and by evil demons who seek his soul; he is protected by his guardian angels. He arrives safely in heaven and is charged by some of its prominent citizens to return to earth and tell his story, which he reluctantly does, after weathering another attack by the demons.

Drythelm¹² was ill and died, or thought he died, early one night and returned to life the next morning. Later he told his story: a being whose face shone and who wore a shining garment led him on a terrible journey through ice and flame, through a valley of alternate heat and cold. Some demons, dragging souls into a black pit, attacked him, but his guide came to the rescue, dispersing the demons. The two came to a place of bright

⁸ Valuable summaries of previous studies as well as new researches into the subject are given by: E. Willson, *The Middle English legends of visits to the other world and their relation to the metrical romances* (Chicago, 1917); E. Freistedt, *Altchristliche Totengedächtnistage und ihre Beziehung zum Jenseitsglauben und Totenkultus der Antike* (Münster, 1928); S.-J. D. Seymour, *Irish visions of the other world* (New York, 1930); A. B. Van Os, *Religious visions: the development of the eschatological elements in Medieval English religious literature* (Amsterdam, 1932).

⁹ Van Os, p. 32: "Prayer, alms and fasting of the living and especially masses sung for the dead will deliver the souls out of Purgatory on the Day of Judgment. This feature will return in almost every following vision (i.e., after Bede). In this way the clergy tried to induce their flocks punctually to perform their religious duties. . . . The fact that the saying of masses for the dead formed a considerable part of the revenue of the clergy may partly account for this frequency."

¹⁰ *Dialogorum*, iv. 36 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, Vol. LXXVII, cols. 381 ff.).

¹¹ *Hist. eccles.*, iii. 19 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, Vol. XCV, cols. 145 ff.).

¹² *Hist. eccles.*, v. 12 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, Vol. XCV, cols. 247 ff.).

light, a field of flowers, through which companies of men and women walked or sat, rejoicing. Then they went on to a place of brighter light, whence came voices of angels singing to God. The guide explains to the visionary the meaning of it all: the valley of horror is a purifying place, where the souls of those who sinned and repented only at the very last are doing penance; they shall be saved on the final Day of Judgment through the prayers and good works and fasting of the living and through the reading of masses for them. The flowering field was the abode of those who were good but not perfect; there they must stay until the Last Day, when they will join the perfect in the Kingdom of Heaven, the last place seen by Drythelm. The visionary was then sent back to his body, where he lived an ascetic monastic life, waiting for the day of his real death.

A lay brother in the reign of King Cœnred¹³ was stubborn in the face of advice that he change his worldly way of life; he had a vision in which he saw the good and evil deeds of his life present in visible form round his deathbed, as conflicting angels and demons. He decided to reform, after all.

These and the visions of the lay brother Peter and the martyr Stephen¹⁴ are obviously intended to spur on the sinner to think about what is to come and to act accordingly. Becker has described how the homilist Ælfric and others took up the device and how the whole idea caught on with the public, so that it became a part of medieval preaching tradition: "It would therefore not be inappropriate to speak of an 'epidemic of visions' and to include the phenomenon under the cate-

gory of the many nervous diseases which afflicted the Middle Ages."¹⁵

Becker, Van Os, and others have shown how the tradition harks back to antiquity—to Egyptian eschatology, to the Greek mysteries (in the initiation experience a vision of life after death was apparently one of the ultimate privileges of the *mystes*), and to oriental religions, such as Zoroastrianism. The sixth book of the *Aeneid*, the *Somnium Scipionis* of Cicero, and the vision of Thespesius in Plutarch's *De tard. justit. div.* are shown as important sources of the tradition, particularly the latter, in which the flames and ice, the grisly monsters and yelping demons of the later visions, appear. The various biblical Apocrypha, such as the Book of Enoch and the Gospel of Nicodemus, are also important sources. Miguel Asin¹⁶ has tried to demonstrate that a strong Islamic influence operated on the European vision legends, particularly those of the later medieval period. S.-J. Seymour has dwelt at length upon the Irish vision legends, tending to link them with ancient Celtic mythology. The composite picture is one of a huge, pervasive body of legend, spread the length and breadth of medieval Europe.

The constant features of the vision tradition which appear in Damian's hymn are: the painful rending of soul from body; the presence of the sinner's past, so to speak, at his deathbed; the perilous journey of the soul, beset by monsters and demons over whom a victory must be won. There is no guide, but in the appeal of the last stanzas is the certainty that in the dark hour of the soul a heavenly power, in this case Christ himself, will come to the rescue and vanquish the evil forces.

It is impossible that the great vision

¹³ *Hist. eccles.* v. 13 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, Vol. XCV, cols. 252 ff.).

¹⁴ *Hist. eccles.* v. 14 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, Vol. XCV, cols. 254 ff.).

¹⁵ Becker, p. 4.

¹⁶ *Islam and the "Divine comedy,"* trans. and abridged by H. Sunderland (London, 1926).

tradition should not have touched Peter Damian. Van Os tells us¹⁷ that, though the tenth century saw a slackening in the popularity of the visions, there was a fresh spate of them and wave of interest in them in Damian's own century, the eleventh. It is well known that Damian cites Bede frequently, and in an interesting study of the sources at Peter's disposal a recent writer on Damian has shown that the Englishman's works were well represented in the library at Fonte Avellana, so closely connected with the Italian saint's studies.¹⁸ This author also mentions the writings of Gregory the Great as forming—invariably, of course—a part of Peter's intellectual furniture.

Damian's fondness for that part of the vision *décor* associated with the conflict of angels and monsters is demonstrated in other writings and seems so much a part of his consciousness that it indicates an old and deep acquaintance with the pictures involved. In the *Epistola ad quemdam aegrotum*,¹⁹ he writes of the exit of soul from body in terms which immediately recall the *De die mortis*:

Egredienti itaque anima tuae de corpore, splendidus angelorum coetus occurrat, iudex apostolorum te senatus absolvat, candidatorum tibi martyrum triumphator exercitus obviet, liliata te rutilantium confessorum turma circumdet, et in beatæ quietis sinu patriarcharum te complexus astringat. . . . Ignoret omne quod horret in tenebris, quod stridet in flammis, quod cruciat in tormentis. Cedat tibi teterrimus Satanæ cum satellitibus suis; in adventum tuum te comitantibus angelis contremiscat, atque in æternæ noctis chaos immane diffugiat. . . . Confundantur igitur, et erubescant tartaræ legiones et ministri Satane iter tuum impedire non audeant.

¹⁷ P. 37.

¹⁸ O. J. Blum, *St. Peter Damian: his teaching on the spiritual life* (Washington, 1947), cf. pp. 58, 61.

¹⁹ Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, Vol. CXLIV, cols. 497–98.

Here the swirling crowds of heavenly hosts, the terrible creatures of darkness, and the monsters of hell are evoked again as circumstances of the soul's journey. In another passage Damian concocts a strange and fascinating blend of the vision apparatus with the particular judgment theme in connection with the ascetic practice of flagellation, in the *De laude flagellorum*:

O quam jocundum! O quam insigne spectaculum! cum supernus Iudex de caelo prospectat . . . ubi reus ipse in pectoris sui tribunalibus praesidens, trifarium tenet officium: in corde suo se constituit iudicem, reum in corpore, manibus se gaudet exhibere tortorem. . . . Enimvero ubi hoc fit, daemones fugiunt . . . huic econtra spectaculo assistunt angeli . . . et hoc Deo gaudentes annuntiant. . . .²⁰

Newman had the advantage of being able to draw upon the later developments of the vision tradition, for example, the elaborate *Vision of Tundale*,²¹ which had a wide circulation in twelfth-century Europe. The whole tradition up to its culmination in the *Divine comedy* was open to him, and he must have been more familiar than Damian with its roots in ancient mysticism, through his long and profound acquaintance with the history of the mystical, ascetic church of Alexandria.²² The passage cited above, in which Newman speaks of other authors under whose "protection and pattern" he wrote *Gerontius*, seems to me to indicate, besides Damian, the authors of the well-known visions, particularly when one recalls its emphasis on visual terms: "I have said what I saw. Various spiritual writers see various aspects of it, etc."

Granted this broad background of tradition, why insist on a connection between Newman and Damian at all? I believe that this connection is nevertheless al-

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. CXLV, col. 686.

²¹ Cf. Willson, p. 18.

²² Harrold, chap. II.

most inevitable.²³ The two poems have common aspects which they do not share with the great welter of other vision narratives and poems.²⁴ First of these is the focal emphasis on the particular judgment.

Van Os, in a chapter entitled "The inquest after death," tells us that the eschatological literature of the Middle Ages did include the motif of a judgment of the soul after death, as a part of the complete picture of man's fate in the other world; its commonest form was a representation of a sort of intellectual duel between a man's guardian angel and his bad demon before the Judgment Seat, in which they contend for his soul. The heaven-hell-purgatory part is the final episode in the whole development. Van Os²⁵ stresses the fact that this theme "is seldom, however, found in its entirety, medieval interest being concentrated upon its final episode. This preference is clearly shown by the fact that some legends, which originally also contained the introductory elements, in course of time dropped these to be able to lay full emphasis on the treatment of the punishments and rewards." The most popular aspect of this "inquest" as it appears in several visions is the debate between body and soul, a tradition supposed to stem from a legend attributed to Macarius of Alexandria; the text of its Latin version appears in Van Os (Appen. V). This debate, in which the soul reproaches the body, as it were, for compromising its spiritual future, has a brief and far-off

echo in the seventh stanza of Damian's hymn:

Falsa tunc dulcedo carnis in amarum
vertitur,
Quando brevem voluptatem perpes poena
sequitur,
Jam quod magnum credebatur, nil fuisse
cernitur,

and the element in this tradition, also appearing in the Macarius legend, of the fear of the soul before it leaves the body, reappears early in the hymn. Therefore, it seems probable that Damian was in part inspired by this tradition. But, except for the legal debate before the Judge and the body-soul debate, the particular judgment seems not to have interested medieval writers; perhaps, as Van Os thinks,²⁶ the concept was too intellectual to have the broad popular appeal of the torments-and-blisses scenes.

A subtle and more significant aspect in common between Newman and Damian's poem is the treatment of the journey of the soul as a personal vision of the writer, concerning the death of the individual, an experience which each feels that he himself will have; in both, the reader feels inevitably that the poet is thinking of his own death. There is a complete lack of the didactic content and tone that is the hallmark of the traditional vision. Damian speaks in the first person in the opening line:

Gravi me terrore pulsas . . . ,

and the closing passages show that he is not interested in anybody's edification but in a powerfully *felt* aspects of his own personal destiny:

Quaeso, Christe . . . tu succurre misero . . .
. . . cum jussus abiero
Nullum in me jus tyrannum praebeatur
impio.
. . . ubi te videndi causa perfruar in
saeculo.

²³ I should like to record here my indebtedness to Professor Samuel C. Chew, of Bryn Mawr College, who first suggested to me the possibility of a connection between the two poems.

²⁴ Two interesting verse versions of the vision theme are: the vision of the Monk of Rheims, found in G. du Meril, *Poésies populaires latines antérieures au 12^e siècle*, (Hanover and Berlin, 1881-1923), pp. 200-217; and the vision of Mercheleof, found in E. Duemler, *Poetae Latini aevi Carolini I*, 591-93. They are of the conventional didactic pattern.

²⁵ P. 177.

²⁶ P. 177.

Harrold says²⁷ that the *Dream of Gerontius* was composed in the middle of the bitter controversy with Charles Kingsley, in a mood of intimate apprehension of death:

Perhaps because of the strain imposed by the writing of the *Apologia*, perhaps because of medical information, Newman was seized with a vivid apprehension of impending death. Though feeling quite well, he actually wrote a memorandum headed "Written in Prospect of Death," dated Passion Sunday, 1864, 7 o'clock A.M., in which he made a formal commitment of his soul to the Most Holy Trinity, to particular saints, and to his Guardian Angel. After the Kingsley affair was over . . . he set down . . . a dramatization of the vision of a Christian's death, on which his mind had been dwelling.

And the *Dream*, too, is written in the first person, with the same note of personal involvement, of direct emotional participation.

Therefore, it seems to me most likely that a reading of the old saint's great poem, while not an exclusive source, was a point of departure; its impact stirred the depths of memory and imaginative resource in Newman's mind and brought forth the curious and compelling vision.

It seems strange that modern writers

²⁷ P. 277.

on Damian or on Newman should not have examined the connection with the great body of visionary literature of the Middle Ages and that writers on this visionary literature should not have mentioned Damian or Newman. Students of medieval literature are well aware of the huge volume of this material; but I believe its influence was even more pervasive than they have thought. Most of the early nineteenth-century writers on visions seem to have been interested primarily either in folklore or in sources of the *Divine comedy*; later writers, with the exception of E. Willson, seem to have been interested in adding to the growing body of factual knowledge about the visions and in establishing the type as a curious literary genre whose vogue was a peculiarly medieval phenomenon.

I believe that this old tradition had a broader life and a more persistent vitality than is generally believed. Further study of the material will, in my opinion, show that it continued to exert a powerful influence on ideas of death and life after death as they appear all through the history of European literature up to the present day.

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REVIEW ARTICLES

ANDREAS, PLATO, AND THE ARABS: REMARKS ON SOME RECENT ACCOUNTS OF COURTLY LOVE

THE trouble with Courtly Love is that it gives its lovers no rest, and the modern critical devotee is hardly less jealous for his favorite theory of its nature and source than was the troubadour.

Ovid is out of the game by now, whatever that genial professor added to the science in the twelfth century; for, where man is ennobled by the soaring fire of Courtly *fin' amors*, the *De amore* teaches a view of sex which—as William of St. Thierry, following the hint of Augustine, once indicated¹—weighs down the body to the earth from which it sprang. But the twelfth century is particularly rich in better loves of various kinds, among them that *in Dei dilectione* which is associated with Bernard of Clairvaux. It is to this that many of the critics have gone, especially since Eduard Wechssler's day,² for both a theory of origins and an account of the quality itself of Courtly Love. The individual troubadours, of course, contain difficulties enough for a month of learned tourneys. Jaufré Rudel's *amor de lonh*, for example, has provoked nearly a double handful of divergent readings, and recently the Italian critic, Mario Casella, in a doubtful attempt to link the troubadour poetry with a special development of Augustinian philosophy, has abandoned philological positivism for a private reading of the texts—an effort which, as *method*, finds favor in the eyes of Leo Spitzer, despite the arbitrariness and distortions which Spitzer recognizes as faults.³ But those

who still like their reading of literature firmly disciplined by history may find perhaps less to cavil at in the work of Dimitri Scheludko, one of the more successful of the descendants from Wechssler's line.⁴ From an impressive demonstration of biblical and Cluniac echoes in the earlier Courtly poetry, Scheludko finds that the distinction made by the troubadours, especially the poet Marcabru, between *fin' amors* ("true love") and *amars* ("false love") is, in fact, that between the love of God and human love of concupiscence. This view is accepted as proved by Guido Errante.⁵

The field is not yet securely in the possession of this band, however. A powerful attack was first directed against their position by Professor Gilson in his well-known study of St. Bernard.⁶ There he not only stated what seemed to him the fundamental opposition between Bernardine *caritas* and Courtly Love but also implied that, whatever later relations may have developed between them from their superficial resemblances, in *origin* the two must have been totally different. Gilson's assault was deficient, however, in two respects: it lacked the impetus of a systematic interpretation of the first troubadour texts, and it failed to offer an adequate, persuasive account of an alternative to Bernardine mysticism as a source for Courtly Love.

Several attempts to remedy these defects have been only partially successful. But a more sweeping return to the attack has been

¹ *De natura et dignitate amoris* 1 (Migne, PL, CLXXXIV, 379 f.); cf. Augustine *De civ. Dei* xi. 28.

² *Das Kulturproblem des Minnesangs*, Vol. I: *Minnesang und Christentum* (Halle, 1909).

³ Casella, "Poesia e storia," *Archivio storico italiano*, XCVI (1938), disp. iii, 3–63, and disp. iv, 11–199. Cf. Spitzer, *L'Amour lointain de Jaufré Rudel et le sens de la poésie des troubadours* ("University of North Carolina studies in Romance languages and literature," No. 5 (1944)); and Grace Frank, "The distant love of Jaufré Rudel," *MLN*, LVII (1942), 528–34.

⁴ See especially, "Über die Theorien der Liebe bei den Trobadors," *Zeitschr. f. rom. Philol.*, LX (1940), 191–234.

⁵ "Old Provençal lyric poetry, Latin and Arabic influences," *Thought*, XX (1945), 326, maintaining the point of view of his *Sulla lirica romanza delle origini* (New York, 1943) in answer to the theories of A. R. Nykl (see n. 12 below), and the review of H. A. Hatzfeld in *Romanic review*, XXV (April, 1944), 2.

⁶ *La Théologie mystique de Saint Bernard* (Paris, 1934), pp. 193–215.

developing currently in a series of articles by Father A. J. Denomy that began in 1944 and is still continuing. Of these the most important are two: "An inquiry into the origins of Courtly Love," *Mediaeval studies*, VI (1944), 175-260, and "*Fin' amors*: the pure love of the troubadours, its amorality and possible source," *ibid.*, VII (1945), 139-207. A third essay, *The heresy of Courtly Love* ("Boston College Candlemas Lectures on Christian Literature" [New York, 1947]) contains a summary of his views in their most recent form.⁷

The base of these views, as developed in his first article, rests on a restatement of the essential qualities of Courtly Love and accumulates strength from a detailed analysis of the earliest texts from the first troubadour, Guillaume IX, to Jaufré Rudel, with the additional evidence of Bernard de Ventadour and of Andreas Capellanus, who later codified this love into a system. According to Denomy, Courtly Love is distinguished from other kinds by two primary tenets: (1) that love is an ennobling force and—inseparable from this—that the woman loved is elevated above the lover; (2) that love is not a quiescence in attainment of the beloved but a ceaseless desire that is unappeased.⁸ Notably, he restores the elevation of the woman to the position of primacy from which others had removed it, and he denies the validity of Myrrha Lot-Borodine's further distinction that the *service d'amour* is a "*don de soi désintéressée*" in which "*l'amour ... est sa propre fin*." These differences are fundamental to his case, since on them depends his contention, supported by his readings of the poetry, that Courtly Love, on all its levels, is a carnal love of concupiscence and that, in the light of both the basic principles which he sets forth, it is something quite unlike Bernardine *caritas*.

For the intellectual background out of which, as he thinks, Courtly Love arose, Denomy returns to the Neo-Platonism of Plotinus, some aspects of which had already been exploited by the critics, notably Käte

Axhausen.⁹ This philosophy, unlike the Augustinian-Bernardine, divides man's body from the soul, which is divine, and sees the soul's life on earth as a constant soaring desire to reach the One, which is frustrated by bodily imprisonment. Elements of Plotinianism descend to the Latin Middle Ages by way of various secular writers, including Macrobius, and through the Christian adaptations of Dionysius the Areopagite and John the Scot; are present among the Albigensian heretics in southern France, who may have been influenced also by John the Scot; and form a base for Arabic Neo-Platonism. Denomy finds a little in the poetry of the Arabs that is suitable to his purpose but makes a good deal more of the philosophy, especially the *Metaphysica* and *De anima* of Avicenna.

This, which is Denomy's first but also his fullest statement of the case for Neo-Platonism, is, as it stands, quite vulnerable. Even if we are disposed to accept its relevance as the framework of Courtly Love, it is difficult in some respects to distinguish from the Augustinian tradition;¹⁰ and it provides in itself no bridge from the high metaphysical reach of that philosophy to the lower ground of carnal human love. It would be hard indeed to discern in Plotinus himself, in the extreme realism of the *De divisione naturae*, in Albigensian or Sufist asceticism, or in the metaphysics and psychology alone of Avicenna anything resembling such a bridge. More easily seen is the negative attitude to carnal love in this tradition, whose symbol might be John the Scot's quotation from Gregory of Nyssa: "*radix omnium malorum philargyria*."

Denomy's view has been attacked on several grounds by supporters of the Bernardine theory. Errante, for example, stressing the similarities between the two developments of mysticism, finds more significant for the troubadours (who were, after all, not philoso-

⁷ A fourth paper, "The *De amore* of Andreas Capellanus and the condemnation of 1277," *Med. stud.*, VIII (1946), 107-49, concentrates on the doctrinal aspects of Andreas' book.

⁸ "An inquiry," *Med. stud.*, VI, 176.

⁹ *Ueber den Ursprung der provenzalischen Lyrik* (Diss. Marburg, 1937), esp. pp. 79-80. The importance of John the Scot and the tradition of Dionysius the Areopagite are also mentioned, among others, by Scheludko and by Myrrha Lot-Borodine, "Sur les origines et les fins du service d'amour," *Mélanges de linguistique et de la littérature offerts à M. Alfred Jeanroy* (Paris, 1928), pp. 223-42.

¹⁰ See the citations in n. 1, and n. 33, below.

phers, but poets) the earthy actuality of Bernard's language and imagery than any mere differences of doctrine.¹¹ But he concentrates his fire on another aspect of the problem, which becomes increasingly important for Denomy and has latterly been revived by A. R. Nykl for the entire subject of troubadour poetic origins,¹² that is, the question of Arabic influence. Granting the possible presence of Platonic elements in the system of Courtly Love, Errante points out that the Christian center of such studies in the twelfth century was Chartres, where "Bernard de Chartres and Thierry de Chartres built up philosophical systems tinted with Platonism"; but "their sources—direct and indirect—are classical, not Arabic."¹³ This statement is made on Clerval's authority, but it is not strictly true for Thierry or for his friends and disciples of the third and fourth decades of the century. Clerval himself has suggested that the Arabic *Liber de causis* (whose relevance to the history of Arabian Neo-Platonism Denomy has remarked¹⁴) may have been known to the Chartrians, and the present reviewer has found it quoted directly by Thierry's colleague, Guillaume de Conches. In another breath Errante admits the early and growing importance of Arabic learning at Chartres¹⁵ but contends, even then, that it was from there probably, not from Spain, that the intellectual stream flowed to Aquitaine in the days of Guillaume IX. He assumes a contact between Guillaume and the earlier Chartrian scholars, to whom he thinks the poet would

have been more likely to turn for spiritual guidance than to any Muslim prince in Spain. Whether such guidance would have prevented Guillaume's also listening to a Muslim of whatever rank in matters of human love we may never know. But it is clear that Errante is far less concerned to deny the significance, if not the separate significance, of the Neo-Platonist origins of Courtly Love than to seal off the earliest troubadours from any direct contact with Arabic Spain.

For Denomy this contact is crucial. In order to maintain his view, he must supply a Neo-Platonist line essentially separate from the Bernardine, which did or could give rise to an idealized conception of human love, was developed well before the twelfth century, and might be shown actually or possibly to have influenced Guillaume IX and his earlier fellow-poets. All these conditions exist, according to him, in Arabic tradition and must have come to the troubadours more or less directly from that source.¹⁶ But Denomy has, in fact, considerable difficulty in establishing both the contact itself and a satisfactory chronology for it. On the side of the purely philosophical influence, the texts of the writers whom he puts forward—Alfarabi, Alkindi, and especially Avicenna—were apparently not known in Latin Europe before about 1130, and the first high-water mark of Avicenna's Latin influence seems to have been reached nearer the early thirteenth century than the twelfth.¹⁷ In order to find something early enough for his purposes, therefore, Denomy seeks in his more recent articles to develop the intellectual relations of European Christians with Arabs as early as the tenth century, and he points to such figures as Gerbert and Hermannus Contractus. But all these contacts, when examined carefully in the works which they produced, will show only a strong interest in Arabic studies of the *quadrivium*—music, mathematics, astronomy—in the practical aspect of psychology which is connected with brain physi-

¹¹ *Thought*, XX, 309–10, n. 13.

¹² See esp. *The dove's neck-ring about love and lovers*, composed by Abu Muhammed Ali ibn Hazm al-Andalusí (Paris, 1931); "The latest in troubadour studies," *Archivum romanicum*, XIX (1935), 227–36; "L'Influence arabe-andalouse sur les troubadours," *Bulletin hispanique*, XLI (1939), 305–15; and *Troubadour studies* (Cambridge, 1944). For a more recent account of love in Arabic poetry, describing elements of special interest for the Courtly tradition, see G. E. von Grunebaum, *Medieval Islam* (Chicago, 1946), pp. 267 ff.

¹³ *Thought*, XX, 308.

¹⁴ *Med. stud.*, VI, 244.

¹⁵ *Thought*, XX, 307. Errante points to the opening about the year 1130 of the school of Toledo, whose Arabic studies influenced the Chartrians, but he fails to mention Adelard of Bath, who had connections with the related school of Tours and whose travels to Spain and the Near East began as early as the last decade of the eleventh century.

¹⁶ *Med. stud.*, VI, 257, gives a summary of his view, which must be supplemented on the Arabic side from his later studies.

¹⁷ See R. de Vaux, *Notes et textes sur l'Avicennisme latin aux confins des xii^e–xiii^e siècles* ("Bibl. thomiste," Vol. XX; "Sec. hist.," Vol. XVII [Paris, 1934]).

ology, and in medicine.¹⁸ Of the manifestations of pure love in a kind of inverse Sufism, in the poets of Baghdad, or among the legendary Banou Odhrah of Yemen—all interesting, though not strict parallels to Courtly Love—there is no trace in any Latin document, nor is there any sign of interest among the Gerberts and Hermanns of the Middle Ages in the other materials which support Denomy's structure. The case for direct relations with the Arabs is thus contracted to the attempt to describe the various ways by which influence generally might have occurred—warfare, trade, pilgrimages, Crusades—all the channels which Asín Palacios and, more recently, Nykl have enumerated.

This will hardly do in a field so thoroughly controverted as Courtly Love, through which a highway paved with general influences can lead to no good end. How easily one can go astray—even so experienced an Arabic traveler as Asín—the present reviewer showed some years ago for another subject that raises similar controversies: the sources of certain of the medieval otherworld visions. On the other hand, only a closed mind, preoccupied with the polemical defeat of views different from its own, will argue that, because particular contacts with the Arabs are hard to find, they did not therefore exist. The objections here raised are not intended to discredit the Arabist argument (as Errante sought to do) but only, before appraising its possible strength, to take cognizance of what remains its greatest weakness.

In the face of this weakness, of which he becomes increasingly aware, Denomy intensifies his attack in his subsequent articles. In the second, for example, he furnishes an analysis of *fin' amors* in Guillaume and his followers which is designed to detach Courtly Love further from Bernardine connection; and he produces an Arabic Neo-Platonist treatise on love with characteristics so like what he has found in the troubadours as to overcome, as he hopes, the lack of external evidence of relationship.

¹⁸ For a summary of current informed opinion on this subject see especially A. van de Vyver, "Les plus anciennes traductions latines médiévales (X-XI siècles) de traités d'astronomie et d'astrologie," *Ovisis*, I (1936), 664-65, and nn. 32-35.

In the analysis of *fin' amors* he makes his most successful attempt to support his thesis. The troubadour lover, he tells us, in describing *fin' amors*, speaks of wishing to kiss his lady, to embrace her, to see her undress; he imagines her plump white body, he wants to lie beside her in bed. Thus his love, which is primarily a union of minds and hearts and ennobles him, also makes him desire every carnal satisfaction of his lady save sexual union—and in some extreme situations even this. Later in the twelfth century Andreas Capellanus was to describe what he calls *purus amor* in these well-known words:

Et purus quidem amor est, qui omnimoda dilectionis affectione duorum amantium corda coniungit. Hic autem in mentis contemplatione cordisque consistit affectu; procedit autem usque ad oris osculum lacertique amplexum et verecundum amantis nudae contactum, extremo praetermisso solatio; nam illud pure amare volentibus exercere non licet. Hic quidem amor est, quem quilibet, cuius est in amore propositum, omni debet amplecti virtute.¹⁹

Here also is an ennobling love in which everything is permitted except union; and the last is also provided for in the less perfect, dangerous, though still praiseworthy, form called *amor mixtus*. All this Errante, thinking of *fin' amors* as *caritas* and neglecting its possible historical explanation for a specious psychology, merely writes off as "sickly."²⁰ But Denomy's point is that, from the beginning, *fin' amors* and *purus amor* are the same carnal thing. As for *amars*, with which the poets contrast *fin' amors*, it is false, not because it is concupiscent in opposition to *caritas*, but because it violates the rules of pure love, that is, its followers are sensual—having more than one lover—and are moved by such considerations as wealth.²¹

What then becomes of the language of Bible and Clunian mysticism in the troubadours? In the entire series of his studies Denomy pays little attention to this, though he admits its

¹⁹ *De amore* I. 6. 182, ed. Amadeu Pagés (Castello de la Plana, 1930), pp. 105-6.

²⁰ *Thought*, XX, 328.

²¹ Hatzfeld (*Roman. rev.*, XXV, 2) states the distinction slightly differently: "If the troubadours oppose *Amor* to *Amar* . . . they oppose the love of the personality in woman to mere carnal lust, not *caritas* to *amore* . . ."

presence; but, by his thesis, however early it penetrated into the poetry, it must be relegated to the category of secondary, or acquired, characteristics. In one respect this may seem to help Dimitri Scheludko out of a difficulty. Having found, as he believes, that in Marcabru *fin' amors* is *caritas*, he suddenly discovers that for Marcabru's disciple, Bernart Marti, it is obviously something more carnal:

Quan sui nutz en son repaire,
sos costatz tenc e mazan,
ieu no sai nulh emperador
vas me puesca gran pres culhir
ni de fin' Amor aver mais.

In explanation of this defection, Scheludko can only say:

Ich kann mir diesen Widerstand von Bernart Marti gegen die Marcabrunsche Theorie von der himmlischen Liebe nur dadurch erklären, dass er sich auf schon vorhandene dichterische Tradition stützte, die die Liebe im Sinne der *Ars Amatoria* von Ovid auslegte und das erotische Gefühl besang, ohne damit moralische Tendenzen zu verbinden.²²

But there is no dilemma if the essentially Platonic theory of concupiscent love is accepted, since similar clues to carnality have already occurred in Marti's predecessors.

With these conclusions we may turn once more to the Arabs. At the end of his defense against the Muslim assault, Errante had made a curious remark, which was almost a withdrawal from his position: "No one would seriously discard the possibility of some Arabic influences (and of many others) on the first troubadours. New evidence might be adduced that is apt to tip the scales."²³ Denomy thinks that he has found such new evidence for Courtly Love in the *Risālah fi 'l-ishq* of Avicenna.²⁴ This is a work of Neo-Platonic connection, which sees the entire universe as moved, each thing according to its nature—inanimate, vegetative, animal, rational, divine—by desire. Its most relevant passage occurs in the discussion of human love in chapter v, "On the love of those who are noble-minded and young for ex-

ternal beauty."²⁵ Since this becomes an item of major importance to the controversy and will play a part in some further suggestions that the present reviewer will make, some of its contents may be briefly repeated here. We read:

If a man loves a beautiful form with animal desire he deserves reproof, even condemnation and the charge of sin. . . . But whenever he loves a pleasing form with an intellectual consideration . . . then this is to be considered as an approximation to nobility and an increase in goodness.

Virtuous love is a union of hearts and minds which ennobles but which stimulates desire to embrace the beloved object, to kiss it, and to have conjugal union with it. As for kissing and embracing, "the purpose in them is to come near to one another and to become united." But the third of these urges is strictly forbidden to the rational lover, since sexual union is to be directed to a totally different purpose—propagation with wife or female slave: "Whoever is filled with [virtuous] love is a man of nobility and refinement, and this type of love is an ornament and a source of inner wealth."

It would be hard not to see the parallels here with *fin' amors* and *purus amor*. But once again the old difficulty rises to make trouble: if Avicenna's *Metaphysica* and *De anima* were available too late in Latin Europe for present purposes, there is, thus far, not the slightest useful indication, beyond what can be read into Andreas and the troubadour texts themselves, that the *Risālah fi 'l-ishq* or any of the associated Arabic traditions was ever directly known to the Christian Middle Ages.

Moreover, Avicenna's book fails to contain other important traits of *fin' amors*, some of which, intimately connected as they are with the theme of desire, disclose the tense psychology that seems to be an integral part of the character of Courtly Love. There is, for example, the theory recorded by Andreas that love cannot exist between a married couple, which Denomy has dealt with in terms of the distinction between *benevolentia* and the more unstable, passionate relationships of *purus amor*. There is also the element of jealousy, with its own very special atmosphere. It is sharply distinguished by Andreas from the

²² "Über die Theorien der Liebe," p. 219.

²³ *Thought*, XX, 330.

²⁴ Translated by E. L. Fackenheim, "A treatise on love by Ibn Sina," *Med. stud.*, VII (1945), 208-28.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 220 ff.

traditional *zelotypia* of husband for wife, which is morally reprehensible, and may be separated by us from the *zelotypia* of the medical men, for whom it is merely a source of bodily disturbance and therefore ill-health.²⁶ On the contrary, in Courtly Love it is a more intense and positive quality, *pure* jealousy, to explain which Denomy has had to turn to the Bible for parallels.²⁷ Nothing of these appears in the *Risālah*, though the occasion for them, as far as they had developed among the Arabs, surely exists there. Despite their basic connection with the art, however, perhaps Denomy would wish to see them as secondary characteristics. Yet for jealousy, at least, there is evidence in his own analysis that it is already present in the troubadours. And this is true, as he shows, of another quality—the special *joy* of love, about which Avicenna is also silent.

These are minor points, doubtful perhaps, and not to be pressed too far, since it need not be assumed that this text is the single source of Courtly Love but only the clue to the development among the Arabs from which that kind of love may be supposed largely to have sprung. (But Denomy, it should be noted, does postulate direct dependence on the *Risālah* itself in his most recent essays.) There are, however, three further elements, either discovered by him in the earlier troubadours or alleged on other grounds to be primary in the nature of Courtly Love, which cannot be thus easily circumvented. The first is what Andreas was later to call *amor mixtus*, with its acceptance of sexual union. On this subject Avicenna is adamant—it is totally inadmissible: "It is very horrid," are his words.²⁸ The second is even more important, since it touches the entire assumption (following Gilson) that, because Bernardine *caritas* differs from Courtly Love,

the one cannot have been the source of the other. Thus, as Denomy has pointed out, *caritas* extends to all God's creatures, whereas *fin' amors* singles out or rejects the individual lover. But what, in terms of this kind of argument (if Neo-Platonism is to be taken as the alternative background to Bernardine mysticism), are we then to make of the principle unequivocally announced in Avicenna that, though the manifestations of love differ according to the natures of created beings, "the Absolute Good manifests itself to all those that love It"?²⁹ The third element is equally significant; for it affects directly one of the two fundamental definitions established by Denomy in his first article: that Courtly Love is based on the superiority of the beloved woman to the lover. He had opposed Myrrha Lot-Borodine specifically on this point:

[Mme Lot-Borodine] traces the elevation of the beloved, her cult, to the idealisation of the loved object; this is a consequence of the idealisation of love to desire which she describes as disinterested. On the contrary, love is specified by its object. Courtly Love is spiritual or idealised because of the cult of the lady. It is because of the elevation of the lady that love is ennobling and not vice-versa.³⁰

Whether he would still wish so firmly to maintain this distinction is not fully evident;³¹ but even the first reading of the *Risālah fī ḥ-ḥishq* will show that his view is not true for Avicenna, whose text discloses the primacy of the love itself and not the beloved human object, about whom the question of superiority is never mentioned or implied (if anything, the beloved in the *Risālah* is, as Mme Lot-Borodine had claimed for the Courtly cult, *raised up by the love*), and who, it may be observed, is not necessarily a woman, since in the pure relation, as with the Platonic tradition generally from which it stems, homosexual is equally admissible with heterosexual love.

But, when all this has been said, no one save

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 225.

²⁷ *Med. stud.*, VI, 176-77, n. 13.

²⁸ The heresy of courtly love, p. 60, n. 4, seems to indicate that more recently Denomy is not so clear about this matter as he was, though he does not directly indicate a change of opinion or its effect on his original definitions of Courtly Love.

²⁶ See, e.g., Benedictus de Nursia, *Pulcherrimum & utilissimum opus ad sanitatis conservationem* (Bologna, 1477), cap. 96.

²⁷ *Med. stud.*, VI, 186, and nn. 54-56. See also references to Dionysius the Areopagite, *PL*, CXXII 1136. The present writer notes, among others, an enlightening definition to be found in Andreas' contemporary, Alanus de Insulis: "*Zelare significat nimio amore uxorem diligere, unde legitur in passione sancti Clementis: Zelatus sum uxorem meam*" (*Distinctiones dictionum theologicarum s.v. "Zelare"*; Migne, *PL*, CCX, 1011C).

²⁸ *Med. stud.*, VII, 221.

the most immovable champion of Bernardine origins will deny that, in showing how high Neo-Platonic desire could and did produce a theory of pure but concupiscent human love, where kissing and embracing play their part, Denomy has, with the *Risālah fī l-ʿishq*, scored a very strong point.

Those who have long contended for the primacy of Platonism in the formation of Courtly Love and others who now are willing to accept the basic soundness of Denomy's analysis of the poetic texts may yet feel, without minimizing the Arabic thesis, that the question of exactly how the streams flowed in on the troubadours is still an open one. The evidence is not all in—by any means—and may not be for some time to come.

With this in mind the present reviewer would like to recall the critics' attention to a Latin counterpart of Avicenna's treatise in a tradition that was available in France before and during the time when Courtly Love arose, and in two texts, which, though surely known to them, have so far been neglected by the antagonists in the current controversy. These are Apuleius, *De Platone*, Book ii, on love as a source of good; and, with its discourse on pious carnal love, the Latin *Asclepius*, which is frequently ascribed to Apuleius and still survives largely among his works in manuscripts that date from the eleventh century onward.³² Apuleius was already known at Chartres in Fulbert's day and played a part in the humanistic instruction which marks the twelfth-century rise of that great school; the evidences that the *Asclepius* was also studied there are perhaps even more numerous. Moreover, the setting in which these books were read is important; for exactly during this period the Chartrians, seeking to adapt Plato to the Christian metaphysic, tried to show how the multiform universe in all its beauty was derived in patterned order from the One. And

they not only used Chalcidius and other philosophical works of Platonist connection but also knew the tradition of Dionysius the Areopagite, whose significance for the Neo-Platonic framework of Courtly Love Denomy and others have already made much of.

The picture of love which, read against the Dionysian background, these texts together give (and Apuleius alone, with its secular social emphasis, deserves a detailed study beyond the narrow limits of an article) possesses all the chief ingredients listed by Denomy as contained in Courtly Love and offers a notable parallel to the *Risālah*: it is Neo-Platonic and based on the desire of all things, each according to its nature—inanimate, vegetative, animal, rational, angelic—for the One. It separates man's divine soul from the body, which imprisons and confuses, but moves down from the more rarefied heights of philosophy to the human level by recognizing the part played by the body in the beauty of God's design for the cosmos. It is a love which binds all things together in a close, graded connection; its practice requires piety and proper discipline of mind; and from it spring joy, laughter, desire, and divine love. It is a union of mind and affection, as distinguished from mere lust for a beautiful body; but, though marked in its highest form by a *divine* concupiscence, it also makes an honorable place for human *voluptas* (*mixtus amor*). And when practiced virtuously—that is, with reference to the Beautiful and the Good—it ennobles the lover in this world, making him better and more distinguished, just as its beloved human object is a model of good.

There is no need, of course, to claim that this tradition, either, is the "source" of Courtly Love: in terms of its theories both of a world of desire and of the unstable position of man's soul between appearances and universal principles, it is also not completely distinguishable, as Avicenna likewise is not, from certain aspects of the Augustinian view.³³ Nor will we

³² See, e.g., *Apulei opera*, Vol. III, ed. Thomas ("Bibl. Teubner" [Leipzig, 1921]), pp. v-xiii and xvii. For the texts of *De Platone*, Book ii, and the *Asclepius*, see pp. 103-34, and 36-81. It is not contended, of course, that the *Asclepius*, with its emphasis on carnality, will give either a theory or a code of conduct for Courtly Love but only that it contains elements which easily combine with Apuleius to provide some of the materials necessary.

³³ *De civ. Dei* xi. 28 pictures a world of love parallel in many respects to that of Avicenna and to those of the Dionysian tradition. Though Augustine has emphasized the lust involved in procreation because of Original Sin, he does not deny that love is a good: the Sons of God who became enamored of the daughters of men (*De civ. Dei* xv. 22) were at fault because they

think that it offers an alternative to what the *Risālah* especially represents: despite its similarity to that treatise, it lacks the one characteristic which Denomy has emphasized—the role of kissing and embracing—though both the *Asclepius* and Apuleius deal, as has been indicated, with *voluptas* in the virtuous relation and Apuleius admits, in the second grade of acceptable love, *cupido modica*. On the other hand, Apuleius at least suggests, if only faintly, what does not appear in Avicenna—the beloved human object as the model of superior virtue in the highest kind of pure desire: “illas vero, <quae> facetae et urbanae sint, animas bonorum deamare et studere illis factumque velle, uti quam plurimum potiantur bonis artibus et meliores praestantioresque reddantur.”³⁴ The chief interest of these Latin texts, in short, is that they illustrate further the value of examining the relevant documents carefully in their historical relations to one another, both for understanding the nature of Courtly Love and for uncovering the immediate conditions in which it arose. Errante, following a certain Continental fashion, has tended to minimize the Arabic influence almost to the vanishing point, just as Denomy, stimulated by the thirteenth-century condemnation of Andreas among the Averroists, has been inclined perhaps to overargue its significance. If we remember what Errante has guessed about the early connection between Chartres and Aquitaine, but without excluding the possible presence in Guillaume’s court of the Avicennist tradition in some form, then it becomes clear that the first troubadour would hardly have found it necessary to choose between Muslim prince and Christian humanist, so remarkable is the affinity of ideas on virtuous love that could have flowed together there from both sources. But we must also remem-

ber, since there is no external evidence for either connection, that we are only imagining all this.³⁵

For Andreas Capellanus, also, there is the likelihood of influence from both directions (and from several others besides). To the echoes of Avicennist theory and Arabic philosophic method that Denomy has tried to find in him should be added the signs of Apuleius’ possible influence on ideas, details of language, and moral tone. Andreas makes the statement in his definition of love that it can exist only between individuals of the opposite sex: “Nam quidquid natura negat, amor erubescit amplecti.”³⁶ This can have point only in the already developed heterosexual system of Courtly Love if it refers, by opposition, to the homosexual aspect of virtuous love in the Platonic tradition (“necessitudinum et liberorum amor naturae congruus est,” says Apuleius³⁷), of the knowledge of which it may thus perhaps be considered a minor clue. But this in itself will not distinguish a debt to Apuleius or Avicenna, since the same view which it denies appears in both. However, other more characteristic, though faint, traces of the *De Platone* do suggest their presence in the background, as, for example, in Andreas’ warning against love which is directed merely to physical beauty, without proper regard for the moral worth of

turned their desire to what was inferior to them, hence to a paltry good. Similarly, in *De civ. Dei* xi. 28 and elsewhere, Augustine implies a conception not entirely at odds with that of the “two faces” of the soul, which Denomy finds so significant in Avicenna (*De anima*) for the psychological background of Courtly Love. An analogous view is elaborated by John the Scot (*De div. nat.*) in the distinction between *interior sensus* and *exterior sensus*.

³⁴ Ed. Thomas, p. 117.

³⁵ In view of their association with Chartres and Cluny in the early twelfth century, the letters of Héloïse and Abélard may be usefully recollected here, whose significance Gilson has indicated in a general way. Héloïse repudiates the carnality of Ovidianism and asserts that she had desired Abélard, not for the man, but for his virtues. In this love she glories, preferring him to being the wife of an emperor and even the status of mistress, where everything is given freely, to that of wife. All this resounds with motifs found in Courtly Love, just as some of Héloïse’s further references reflect the atmosphere of Chartrian humanism. On the other hand, Abélard’s unwavering reminders that they have sinned and that their love must be put aside for the love of God suggests what Denomy and Hatzfeld stress—the opposition between *caritas* and human love, however pure. Yet the dilemma of their emotional association remains: Héloïse’s desire for Abélard does not cease, rather she longs to make it the pathway to the Divine. For all its emotional dilemma, this last is not too far from what Denomy has described as the Neo-Platonist position, which, as it were, finds in Apuleius a more serene and socially oriented example.

³⁶ I. 2. 7, ed. Pagès, p. 4.

³⁷ Ed. Thomas, p. 116.

its object, without wisdom, brief, and soon repented of³⁸—some of the faults, in short, that may be associated also with the carnality of what the troubadours called *amars*, and the dangers inherent also in *amor mixtus*, with its perilous admission of sexual union: "Mixtus vero amor dicitur ille, qui omni carnis delectationi suum praestat effectum et in extremo Veneris opere terminatur. . . . Hic enim cito deficit et parvo tempore durat, et eius saepe actus exercuisse poenituit. . . ."³⁹ All this recalls, though with difference of emphasis, what Apuleius reports from Plato on the subject, "qui vulgo amor dicitur," that is, "adpetitus ardens, cuius instinctu per libidinem capti amatores corporum in eo, quod viderint, totum hominem putant." Such loves as these do not last: "nec constantia illis adsit et diuturnitas desit amoresque eiusmodi satietate ac paenitentia terminentur."⁴⁰ And Andreas' term itself, *amor mixtus*, may well have been borrowed by adaptation from the *amor mixtus* of the *De Platone*, in which *voluptas* dilutes the purer form of human love. But perhaps the most striking resemblance between the two lies in the general moral tone of their treatises. The *De arte honesti amandi* suggests in both title and method something of the schoolmasterly essay on conduct (*magister* Andreas, *discipulus* Walter) of which there are other secular examples in this time. Denomy refers to Cicero *De finibus bonorum et malorum* for a precedent, but Andreas' tone and aim parallel those of the *De Platone*, Book ii, in which the discourse on love appears as part not of a metaphysical tractate on desire but of a moral essay on the *bonum et honestum*.

In summary, Father Denomy's investigations of the origins of Courtly Love provide a notable restatement of the chief problems, based on a careful reading of the texts. His work on the Neo-Platonic background, though susceptible of further questioning, helps to free that background from obscuring entanglement within the cultivated maze of Courtly poetry and thus to set it where its significance may be more precisely estimated in the hierarchy

of historic elements surviving in the individual works. The problem of Arabic influence, still complicated as it is by a tantalizing absence of information, makes some advance to clarification at his hands; and the new studies which he is undertaking may throw additional light on this difficult area. In terms of the advance of historical knowledge, there is no question about the importance of what he has so far done, though the particular nature of his attempt to discriminate among "sources" has resulted in perhaps too intent a concentration upon philosophic foundations alone.

But there remains an aspect of the subject which, from the very inception of modern studies in the field, seems never to have been clearly seen by the critics and historians and which, though properly not a prime concern for Denomy (since he confines himself to the historical investigation of a doctrine), has produced some recent views that have both touched his discussion of Jaufré Rudel and left debris in various of his footnotes. This is that Courtly Love, since it survives for us primarily as a body of literary pieces, involves also a history of literature. Too often the critics have been unclear whether they were writing a history of ideas, a social history, psychology, linguistics, or literary criticism—or some or all of these things in unmethodical admixture. Too frequently, moreover, historical studies have been preoccupied with *Quellen und Überlieferung*, whether directed to the elucidation of individual works alone or to the establishment of a general theory of origins, in the process of which the texts or their parts are wrenched from a particular context for the sake of the theory. Elsewhere the complaint is an old one by now, but in the field of the troubadour lyric and the later literary romance it is only within the past few years that, aware of the confusions and conflicts, such writers as Leo Spitzer and Reto Bezzola have sought to clear the ground by the development of new methods of interpretation. But neither of these has understood fully the conditions of the problem (nor, it must be added, have their immediate opponents); and in the case of Bezzola literary method is vitiated in part by exclusive attention to the intuitions of a Symbolist read-

³⁸ See esp. I. 6, ed. Pagès, pp. 7 ff.

³⁹ I. 6. 183, ed. Pagès, p. 106.

⁴⁰ Ed. Thomas, pp. 116–17.

ing, however sensitive or even brilliant this may be. As a consequence, Spitzer's attempts, at least, have raised in the pages of the learned journals a small storm of controversy over the comparative virtue in literary study of some kind of special interpretive insight (learned, of course) as against the older-fashioned philological positivism. The pointlessness of argument on this level the present writer hopes to demonstrate in another article devoted more fully to literary criticism and the history of the romances. Meanwhile, it may be pointed out simply that the real issue is not, as some scholars have misconceived, whether the traditional historical methods are "narrow" but how far in individual cases they are relevant; nor whether some other form of interpretation is profounder and therefore better but of the soundness of the particular method used and of the literary end to which it is directed.

A healthy literary study of the productions of the Courtly poets and the romances may someday be written. When it is, it will not confuse interpretation with the vagaries of personal reading, nor will it assume that criticism is confined to historical or spiritual exegesis. It will proceed with an analysis of each piece—whether lyric, dialogue, narrative, or expository treatise—as a separate productive act and will study the means by which each writer sought to achieve an intended effect with an audience that was foreseen. In such a work history will not be abandoned; on the contrary, the positive historical method, philological or otherwise, will be used to explain as precisely as possible the presence in a particular work of particular ideas, themes, doctrines, metaphors, and turns of phrase.

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MAX FARRAND AND BENJAMIN FRANKLIN'S MEMOIRS

FROM 1926 until his death in 1945, Max Farrand, late director of research at the Huntington Library, made the solution of the problems surrounding Benjamin Franklin's memoirs the last major task of a distinguished scholarly career. These problems touched almost every circumstance in the writing, revision, and publication of that remarkable book. The results of his studies have now been embodied in two posthumously published editions.¹ They were brought to completion, on lines that he had laid down, by members of the library staff. Godfrey Davies assumed the main responsibility and furnishes the prefaces. He was assisted particularly by Edith Lucile Klotz and Marion Tinling. The larger volume, a superlative example of printing, contains four variant texts: (a) from the original manuscript in Franklin's hand (Huntington MS 9999); (b) from William Temple Franklin (ed.), *Memoirs of the life and writings of Benjamin Franklin* (London, 1818); (c) from "Mémoires de B. Franklin traduits par M. [Louis Guillaume] Le Veillard," a manuscript in the Library of Congress; and (d) from the anonymous translation in *Mémoires de la vie privée de Benjamin Franklin* (Paris, 1791), commonly known from its publisher as the "Buisson edition." The companion volume is a new text prepared from these sources for the general reader.

Farrand's project at the outset seems to have been to publish the autograph manuscript, of which he was the custodian, in a form befitting its value and its special characteristics: to purge it of the numerous errors of transcription introduced by its first editor, John Bigelow.²

¹ *Benjamin Franklin's Memoirs: Parallel text edition*, ed., with an introduction and explanatory notes, by Max Farrand. Published in co-operation with the Huntington Library. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1949). Pp. xxxix + 422. Max Farrand, *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin: A restoration of a "fair copy"* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1949). Pp. xxvii + 210.

² John Bigelow (ed.), *Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin* (Philadelphia, 1868). In an introduction

which has apparently now been done; and, he once hoped, to show its actual state, with the corrections, interlineations, and marginal additions that reveal Franklin's writing methods. But a type facsimile was found to be unmanageable, and he wisely decided to note only such important changes as affect the meaning. For further studies of Franklin's practices in composition, the manuscript at San Marino may be consulted or the photostats deposited in several libraries.

As he went on, Farrand extended his interest to the textual problem as a whole. He was thus led to study more critically than had been done before the literary and bibliographical history of the memoirs. Much had been written on the subject, and, in fact, several clues to the intricate maze had been turned up, especially by John Bigelow, Henry Stevens, and Paul Leicester Ford. But these clues had been confused with errors of fact and interpretation; and the central issue of a long controversy—the validity of the divergent texts published by Temple Franklin and Bigelow—had been clouded by the disrepute attached to Franklin's grandson. To the old silly stories that he had sold out for British gold, Bigelow had added the charge that he had mutilated his grandfather's manuscript. Comparison of the texts lent it weight. After 1868 there were few to defend his reputation as an editor,³ until in 1936 Farrand published the substance of his solution in an essay which has now been reprinted with

Bigelow provided documentation from the Franklin correspondence and from the memorandum describing the transfer of the original manuscript to the Le Veillard family which usefully supplements Farrand's rather summary treatment in the introduction to the Parallel text edition. On Farrand's earlier project I rely upon my memory of several conversations on the subject.

³ See, however, Henry Stevens, *Benjamin Franklin's life and writings: A bibliographical essay on the Stevens' Collection of books and manuscripts relating to Doctor Franklin* (London, 1881); and Paul Leicester Ford, *Franklin bibliography: A list of books written by, or relating to, Benjamin Franklin* (Brooklyn, 1889), pp. xlvii, lili, 257, 259.

little change as the introduction to the new scholars' edition.⁴

"As often happens with complicated problems," he wrote, "when the explanation finally was found it seemed so simple that one wonders whether it can be correct, and if so why it was not discovered long ago." Farrand developed his argument with all proper caution. Shorn of qualifications, it may be summarized as follows: There were actually two authentic versions of the memoirs. One was the version still completely preserved in the autograph manuscript, which was written at intervals over a long period, 1771-90, and in its earlier part revised after the author returned from France in 1785. The second version was that incorporated in two fair copies made by Franklin's grandson, Benjamin Franklin Bache, in 1789, and transmitted by Franklin himself to his friends, M. Le Veillard, mayor of Passy, and Benjamin Vaughan, the editor in 1779 of the first edition of his political writings. This version certainly contained further revisions not to be found in the much rewritten original manuscript, but it did not include the final instalment, since this was not yet written. The fair copies have long since disappeared, so this version can be established only at second or third hand. One or the other fair copy, or transcription thereof, was evidently used by two early French translators and by William Temple Franklin. His text is thus the best evidence extant of the fair-copy version, and hence of Franklin's "last intention." But it can be measurably improved—purged of a great part of its errors, revisions, and interpolations—by painstaking comparison with the other three texts which confront it in the Parallel text edition. Farrand's own attempt to restore the fair-copy text has been completed by his colleagues and is embodied in the popular edition.

Farrand's main argument—that there were two authentic versions and that the version of the lost fair copies represented Franklin's last intentions—seemed sound to me when first published and is confirmed by such tests as I have made with the ampler materials now at

hand. But his death before he had completed his textual studies and before he had prepared adequate introductions, notably for the Parallel text edition, imposed tasks upon the research staff of the library which have not been completely performed. In the *Restoration* edition there are more typographical errors than are permissible. Almost the only attempts to provide readers with explanatory aids are the two notes on page 179, of which the second contains a serious geographical error. Farrand's own work on Parts I and II stood in need of further careful revision but seems to have been left practically untouched. Neither edition contains an index. Two earlier articles have been made to serve as introductions. The Parallel text edition, in particular, suffers from the lack of such an introduction as Farrand must have intended to write. The reprinted prospectus omits essential documentation and does less than justice to his method and his contributions. The commentary that follows will explore part of the additional evidence and, in some matters, will propose different solutions.

1. *The plan of the memoirs.*—Recognizing the interest for students of Franklin's outline of the memoirs, Farrand provided in an appendix the first accurate transcription of its text.⁵ This he took from a contemporary copy now in the Morgan Library, since the original is no longer extant. The copy was made from the original by a clerk for Abel James, who, as executor of the estate of Mrs. Joseph Gallo-way, had recovered Franklin's manuscript written at Twyford and with it the outline. Late in 1782 James sent this copy to Franklin with a letter urging him to continue the work, and Franklin probably used it thereafter whenever he resumed his writing.

When was Franklin's outline composed? Farrand has not discussed this question, which has an important bearing on the character of the book, but he seems to have reached the same conclusion that I shall develop below. In an edition of all Franklin's "autobiographical writings," broadly construed,⁶ Carl Van Doren

⁴ Parallel text edition, pp. xviii, xx-xxi, 419-22.

⁵ Huntington Library Bulletin, No. 10 (October, 1936), pp. 49-78. The quotation that follows is from pp. 49-50.

⁶ Carl Van Doren (ed.), *Benjamin Franklin's autobiographical writings* (New York, 1945), pp. 209-15.

has shown that the first pages of the memoirs, on his ancestry and family, were written without the guidance of this topical scheme. He suggests that Franklin, recognizing the need to write more methodically, as was his wont, first set down his topics only through 1757; the further notes, he thinks, were added much later, possibly when the final section was written shortly before Franklin's death. But Van Doren, I believe, has been misled by deductions which he has drawn from the state of other copies of the outline in the Library of Congress, which, in fact, derive from Temple Franklin's editorial labors. All but the last seven lines of the outline as it appears in the Morgan Library copy must have been written before Franklin sailed for France in 1776. They were all copied in 1782 in the same clerk's hand. Almost as certainly the whole outline, except for the additions which Franklin made in red ink in this copy to include topics of later date than 1771, was written right through during the holiday at Twyford. The clerk's copy of the original broke off just where one would expect a list drawn up in 1771 to do. Franklin's brief continuation, probably added in 1783 or 1784, begins with "Hutchinson's Letters," an episode which began to unfold secretly in 1772.

I have been at pains to correct this misapprehension in order to emphasize a salient fact about the memoirs which has not been sufficiently stressed. In its main character and, indeed, in most of its content, Franklin's history of his life had been planned from the beginning. This has been obscured by the casual character of some of the transitions and by the accident that it had to be written at long intervals in a busy life. The short section added in France in 1784, moreover, was written without access to the Twyford manuscript, and the use of the outline did not keep Franklin from some duplication. Temple Franklin completed the scission at this point by interpolating his own heading, "Part II," followed by a printing of Franklin's explanatory memorandum written in 1788 or 1789. Like other commentators, Farrand has drawn too strong a conclusion from this memorandum in respect to Franklin's alleged shift of objective when he re-

sumed writing in Paris. Save for the family anecdotes at the beginning, Part I has much the same character as the rest of the book. The autobiography throughout is a moralistic, didactic narrative of *selected episodes* from his life. It was best described by Franklin himself in his letter to Vaughan, October 24, 1788:

To shorten the work, as well as for other reasons, I omit all facts and transactions, that may not have a tendency to benefit the young reader, by showing him from my example, and my success in emerging from poverty, and acquiring some degree of wealth, power, and reputation, the advantages of certain modes of conduct which I observed, and of avoiding the errors which were prejudicial to me.

The episodes selected with this primary purpose were all listed, it should be remembered, in the original outline. Even the long passage on the exercises in moral self-improvement in Part II, though it was possibly unduly expanded at Vaughan's suggestion, was nevertheless indicated at just this place in the outline by the appropriate note, "The Art of Virtue." It is neither an interpolation nor fair evidence of a change in direction.⁷

Though Franklin wrote to a plan, he took the liberties which every writer must with his outline: shifting topics about, rarely adding new ones, but occasionally dropping some of them out. We should like to know now what he had originally planned to include in the section on his youthful experiences as a journeyman printer in London under the topics: "Wilkes. Cibber. Plays. Books I borrowed. Preachers I heard. Redmayne."

2. *The writing of the memoirs.*—Part I, so-called, eighty-seven pages of manuscript, was written under circumstances long familiar in the bishop of St. Asaph's country house, at Twyford, within a fortnight in the happy summer of 1771; Part II at Passy, in 1784, in a brief interlude of diplomacy. New light was thrown on what Franklin hoped to accomplish at that time by the publication in 1936 of a short manuscript of John Jay's, recording in-

⁷ Compare Farrand in Parallel text edition, p. xxii, and in *Autobiography*, pp. xxi-xxii. The letter to Vaughan is in *The writings of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. Albert Henry Smyth (New York, 1905-7), IX, 675-76.

interviews with Franklin between July, 1783, soon after he must have received Abel James's letter suggesting resumption of the memoirs, and March, 1784.⁸ The omission of this evidence in the Farrand edition is presumably a result of posthumous publication. From Franklin's conversation Jay recorded a number of episodes which appear in the memoirs, several of them in Part III. Obviously, Franklin was reviewing his outline and hoping to make substantial progress toward completing the story. But he returned to Philadelphia in 1785 with only seventeen pages added to his history.

Of the writing of Part III, pages 104-213 of the manuscript, which was begun in August, 1788, Farrand says only that he "was apparently engaged for several months in writing this part." His letters show more specifically that by October he had brought the narrative into the year 1756 and was still hoping to complete the whole history that winter. But between December 9 and May of the following year, with his recurring illnesses, he was able to add only the few pages which carry the story to his departure for England in July, 1757, upon his first colonial agency. By November, 1789, he had come to regret that he had not speeded up his work by dictation. With this method he thought that he "might by this time have finished my Memoirs, in which I have made no progress for these six months past."⁹ The seven-and-a-half pages which follow and which were all that he was able to add must have been written after November 13, 1789,¹⁰ and were probably painfully inscribed early in 1790. Scholars refer to them as Part IV, but there is no break in the continuity of the manuscript.

3. *Revision of the original manuscript.*—When Franklin on his return to Philadelphia regained possession of his Twyford manuscript, "he naturally reread it, and, as was also nat-

ural," Farrand points out, "he made a good many changes." This extensive revision, he believed, might have been made in 1786. Possibly so; but the letter he cites, to Edward Bancroft, probably meant no more than that he had written a substantial part of his history and that the rest would shortly be finished. In this letter he was trying to discourage Dilly's proposed publication of an inferior life in London; he used the same method to put Mathew Carey off from his project of printing another life in the *Columbian magazine*.¹¹

4. *The fair copies.*—These we know were copied out by Franklin's grandson, Benjamin Franklin Bache, before Part IV was added. Franklin sent one copy to Le Veillard, the other to Vaughan. From these friends—and also from Rochefoucauld and Richard Price—he sought counsel on publication and on possible excisions. Farrand argued plausibly that the two copies may have been identical, since Franklin often used a copying machine of his own invention. He also demonstrated that they must have contained further revisions of the text, especially in Part I, the Twyford manuscript. But he had great difficulty in settling in his own mind whether these changes were made (or at least authorized) by Franklin. The alternative he did not explicitly state: it could only be that they were interpolations by young Benny Bache.

The question is, of course, crucial to the particular solution of the textual problem which Farrand adopted. If Bache in his copying took unauthorized liberties with the holograph text, then the whole project of a discovery of Franklin's final intention through texts derived from the fair copies falls to the ground.¹² On this head the introduction contains only

¹¹ To Edward Bancroft, November 26, 1786, *ibid.*, IX, 550-51; to Mathew Carey, August 10, 1786, *ibid.*, pp. 533-34.

¹² While the present article was in press just this position was argued at some length by D. H. Mugridge, in the *William and Mary quarterly*, 3d ser., VI (October, 1949), 649-59. Mugridge has presented little concrete evidence to support the suspicions which he raises. On page 654 he offers two examples of what he regards as deterioration of the text attributable to Bache. Both are weakened—the first example invalidated—when the variant texts at issue are read in full instead of in his incomplete quotations.

⁸ Frank Monaghan (ed.), *Some conversations of Dr. Franklin and Mr. Jay* (New Haven, 1936). See my review of this brochure and of Farrand's essay from the *Bulletin*, No. 10, in the *American historical review*, XLII (April, 1937), 559-60.

⁹ *Writings*, ed. Smyth, X, 50.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 69-70.

Farrand's tentative and inadequate remarks of 1936. "To what extent," he then wrote, the 1789 revisions "were made or approved by Franklin will probably never be known." At the end he added more confidently: "The fair copies embodied changes which, it must be assumed, were made with Franklin's tacit or expressed approval." What arguments he had in mind to support this assumption we are not told. The edition is thus left vulnerable to the same kind of strictures which were formerly directed against the Temple Franklin edition—with this difference, that the crime of mangling the holograph text must now be charged in the first instance to the legitimate, instead of the illegitimate, grandson!

The case for Farrand's assumption is, however, a strong one and should not be allowed to go by default. There are documents that Farrand did not cite which make fairly clear the history of the copies; and where the documents are silent, there is an obligation to weigh the probabilities. As early as April, 1788, Franklin promised to have a copy made for Le Veillard as the work went on. In October he explained why nothing of the sort had been sent: he thought it better "to retain the whole till I can view it all together, and make the proper corrections." It was at this time that he wrote Vaughan to promise him another "manuscript copy" when the work was finished. It is thus apparent that he intended to make further revisions which would appear in the copies. Early in June, 1789, he had grown doubtful of completing the history according to plan, but he informed Vaughan: "My grandson, however, is copying what is done, which will be sent to you for your opinion by the next vessel. . . ." There were further delays. Three months later he told Le Veillard that his copy "of what is done" was finished. But it was not until November that the copies were sent off. Franklin inclosed them in letters—which he signed—to Vaughan and Rochefoucauld, and he also sent an explanatory letter to Le Veillard.

That copies so long promised, so eagerly awaited by their recipients, should have been treated carelessly or casually by Franklin; that

his grandson should have been able to conceal important changes in their wording made at his own whim—these alternative hypotheses are to me inconceivable. At least three months were employed in the final revision and copying. For another two months the copies were in Franklin's possession. Surely he did not leave them all this time unread. On none of his writings had he labored so long or set so high a value. Franklin was a generous and indulgent family man, but his indulgences did not extend to tampering with his literary property. If Bache is to be considered as possibly guilty, how explain that all the important changes were made in Part I? Why should he have treated the rest with greater respect? If, on the other hand, one assumes that these later changes were the "corrections" which Franklin had promised months earlier, this concentration of the revision on the Twyford manuscript presents no difficulty to anyone who has labored for years on a piece of writing. He had written it eighteen years before; it had gone cold; he continued to tinker with it. Not all these final revisions may seem to us improvements—though some of them certainly are—but it is hopeless to try to decide this issue of fact by subjective judgments.

What most likely happened is that when, in 1789, Franklin found himself too ill to continue writing—but therefore more than ever anxious to submit what was done to the judgment of his trusted friends abroad—he made shift to dictate the long-contemplated last revisions from his bed, the holograph in his hand. We know that he did dictate letters in 1789 to an amanuensis and that he even considered finishing the history in this fashion. There is nothing in the nature of the final changes to make this implausible.¹²

5. *Were other copies taken of the memoirs?*—Paul Leicester Ford assumed on inadequate grounds that there were other copies made.¹³ Farrand, more meticulous, weighed the question in his discussion of the translation of most

¹² Parallel text edition, pp. xxv, xxxvii; *Writings*, ed. Smyth, IX, 645, 673, 676, 681 (misdated 1788; should read 1789); X, 32, 35, 50, 69-70.

¹³ P. 179.

of Part I published by Buisson (1791). Le Veillard denied in print that it was taken from his copy. Farrand was inclined to accept his disclaimer and to look for the probable source across the Channel. French bibliographers had ascribed the translation to Jacques Gibelin, who is said to have had connections with Franklin's old scientific circle in England. Farrand considered briefly that Gibelin might have seen the original manuscript in London, since Temple Franklin brought it there late in 1790, but observed that he certainly could not have translated it with the owner's permission. He might well have added that a theory that he used it surreptitiously is also ruled out. As he elsewhere demonstrated so conclusively, the Buisson translation follows not the original manuscript version but that of the fair copies. On the whole, he thought it more probable that the translator, if he was Gibelin, used the Vaughan copy. He admitted a further possibility, however, that he might have used still another copy, which, it is alleged, was made by clerks in Abel James's Philadelphia counting-house. But this suppositious copy, of which the only mention is in a document of uncertain provenience and dubious accuracy, must also have been made from Franklin's original manuscript.

6. *Migrations of the manuscripts.*—On Franklin's death, William Temple Franklin came into possession of his papers. He took a selection to England in 1790, including the original manuscript of the memoirs, intending to publish a great authorized edition. As Farrand observed, his letter to Le Veillard, May 22, 1790, asserting his monopoly, "clearly shows that Temple Franklin regarded the copies as his property." The same view, he added, had been reflected in Franklin's letters. Apparently, he overlooked a passage in Franklin to Vaughan, November 2, 1789: "I think with you, that, if my Memoirs are to be published, an edition of them should be printed in England for that country, as well as here for this, and I shall gladly leave it to your friendly management."¹⁴ But in face of Temple Franklin's claims, Vaughan attempted no printing at

first hand from his own copy. With Paul Leicester Ford¹⁵ and others, Farrand was inclined to believe that it was Vaughan who edited for G. G. J. and J. Robinson the English translation from the Buisson French translation (1793). Certain passages, he believed, show evidence of correction from an authentic English text. "If use of the copy sent to Vaughan is thereby implied, this is the last intimation we have of its existence."

The later history of the other known manuscripts is less shadowy. It has long been established that, at some time prior to his tardy publication of the memoirs (1818), Temple Franklin exchanged the original manuscript for the Le Veillard copy. Le Veillard died on the scaffold in 1794. Family tradition held that the exchange occurred some time afterward, with the widow. In a penetrating discussion Farrand proved that this could not have been the case. All the latter part of the Le Veillard translation is in his own hand; this includes Part IV, which he could only have translated from the original manuscript. Farrand conjectured that the trade was made in 1791 or 1792. But the Library of Congress possesses a manuscript (Franklin Papers, fols. 3029-37) which is evidently Temple Franklin's preliminary project for a continuation of Franklin's life, to follow the text of the memoirs, which, as the pagination clearly indicates, he then proposed to print from the original manuscript in his possession. He copied out appropriate topics from Franklin's own outline and pasted in clippings, most of them from Dr. Stuber's life of Franklin. Many of these clippings appear to have been made from a copy of the Robinson edition (1793). The unsolved mystery is why Temple Franklin proposed thus early to omit Part IV, as this outline indicates that he did.

7. *The early editions.*—Farrand successfully cut through a veritable bibliographical jungle to establish the critical priority of the early published texts: to rank first the Temple Franklin text (1818); second the Buisson translation (1791); and third the Le Veillard translation, only a part of which had been pre-

¹⁴ *Writings*, ed. Smyth, X, 52.

¹⁵ P. 205.

viously published. The record contains such fantastic episodes as the first printing of the memoirs, not in English but in French (1791); the first publication in English, not from an authentic manuscript, but in two separate translations from the Buisson edition, one published by Parsons and the other by Robinson, in London in 1793; and the culminating absurdity of a retranslation of Part I into French put out by Buisson (1798), which was made from one of the English translations (1793) of the primary French translation (1791)—also issued by Buisson!

In 1936 Farrand proposed to supply supporting evidence on doubtful readings out of the Robinson edition (1793). It is a pity that the notes he promised are not printed in the Parallel text edition. I have collated the Robinson text in part. There are, as both Paul Leicester Ford and Farrand observed, cases in which its phraseology is closer to the Temple Franklin text—and apparently more “Franklinian”—than would be expected in a mere translation of Buisson. Coincidence might explain most of them, but hardly the key phrases in the following: “The poem appeared to be written with a manly freedom, and a pleasing simplicity.”¹⁶ One wishes that Farrand had offered guidance on the problem of a note in the Temple Franklin and Le Veillard texts on the name Franklin. It is not now in the original manuscript, though “Here a Note” is written in parentheses. Neither is it in the Buisson translation; hence one would not expect to find it in the Robinson edition. But there it appears, all but the final quotation from the *Faerie queene*.¹⁷ If the note as it survives was included in none of the manuscripts but was concocted by Robinson’s editor and appropriated by Temple Franklin, how explain where Le Veillard got it? The most plausible hypothesis is that it was written by Franklin on a loose sheet attached to the holograph but later lost; that it appeared in both fair copies; that it was omitted in the imperfect transcription which Buisson’s

translator used; and that Robinson’s editor—presumably Vaughan—supplied it from the Vaughan fair copy. Part, but not all, of this note is printed in the *Restoration* edition, page 5.

As for the William Temple Franklin text, the collations that I have made on the whole tend to confirm Farrand’s judgment that it does not deserve its former ill-fame. Despite some obvious errors and numerous interpolations (mainly explanatory), even despite some more flagrant alterations, it stands up fairly well. By early nineteenth-century standards Temple Franklin was in most respects a conscientious, if also an exasperatingly dilatory, editor.

8. *The Farrand-Huntington Library text*.—Although this new version is intended for the general reader, scholars may be interested to know the criteria that have been used to establish the text. In 1936 Farrand wrote of “drafting a version that, from the evidence available, seems most probably to have been Franklin’s last intention”; and on the title-page we now read “A restoration of a ‘fair copy.’” Godfrey Davies in his preface (p. vi) states the general rule: “Where the Temple Franklin text and the original manuscript agree, no changes have been made; where they differ, the version which seems to be best supported by Buisson’s and Le Veillard’s translations has been followed.” At first glance this looks like a fairly simple procedure which should result in clearing the Temple Franklin text of its crudities. But it is only in Part I that the Buisson text is available to tip the balance between the readings in the original manuscript and in Temple Franklin. The Le Veillard text, as Farrand has shown, is a composite, based in part at least on a fair copy but later revised from the original manuscript. When it agrees with the latter, this may be merely the agreement of derivation. Faced by such difficulties, Farrand acknowledged frankly from the start that his choice of readings would be affected by factors both of judgment and of taste. Godfrey Davies attributes to him—rightly, I think—such familiarity with Franklin’s writings that he could often “decide which of several versions of the memoirs was the more like Franklin’s

¹⁶ *Works of the late Doctor Benjamin Franklin* (1793), I, 16 (cf. Parallel text ed., pp. 18–19, II, 4, 5, 6).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 6–8 (cf. Parallel text ed., pp. 6–7).

style." He had finished Part I and was working on Part II at the time of his death. A close check of numerous passages in Part I indicates that he quite often exercised an aesthetic choice—on the whole, judiciously but with greater freedom than could be defended if his sole objective had been to determine Franklin's "last intention." Usually he kept the sentence structure of the Temple Franklin text when it was confirmed by other evidence, but he felt free to pick out "characteristic" phrases from the original manuscript. Sometimes he reversed this procedure. The paragraph on the

parish register at Ecton is a reweaving from alternative texts.¹⁸

The result is more pleasing than if he had stuck closely in all instances to the first goal of a reconstruction of the fair-copy version. The text is readable. For the most part it is demonstrably "Franklinian" in style. But Farrand himself was more modest than his publishers in admitting its tentative and composite character.

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¹⁸ *Autobiography*, pp. 5-6.

BOOK REVIEWS

The sources of "A dictionarie of the French and English tongues" by Randle Cotgrave (London, 1611). By VERA E. SMALLEY. ("Johns Hopkins studies in Romance literatures and languages," extra Vol. XXV.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1948. Pp. 252.

If such a study may ever be said to flourish, the study of Renaissance lexicography is flourishing today. Limiting the discussion quite arbitrarily to England alone, one may mention, first, the investigations by Professors Starnes and Noyes, especially their *English dictionary from Cawdrey to Johnson*, which considers some of the same matters now treated again by Miss Vera Smalley. Professor Marekwardt has published several excellent articles on the *Vocabularium Saxonum* of Laurence Nowell, which he is now editing; and Professor Starnes is at work on the most important of all these studies, a history of Latin-English and English-Latin lexicography in the Tudor-Stuart period. Minor contributions, some of them valuable, have been too numerous to mention here.

Two features of these excursions into what might seem barren ground deserve some comment. First, the ground is not so barren as it seems. Even now, when the mere bibliographical details have not yet been worked out, a few illustrations will suggest that from the old dictionaries a good deal is still to be learned about Early Modern English. Tracing an entry from one dictionary or one edition to another often reveals significant changes. Everyone knows, for example, the Elizabethan use of *it* or *his* where Modern English would have *its*. According to Professor Baugh, *its* was probably not common "even at the end of the sixteenth century"; the form is first recorded in 1598, from Florio's Italian-English dictionary, *A worlde of wordes* (s.v. "spontaneamente"). Florio, however, as Professor Starnes has discovered, takes his English from the Latin-English *Dictionarium* of Thomas Thomas,

which in 1596 has the entry (s.v. "sponte") "of his owne accorde and will, for its owne sake." This entry, in turn, shows a change from that in the edition of 1592 ("for *it* owne sake"; italics mine), which derives from still another little-known dictionary of 1583; and the ultimate source of the series of glosses is probably the Elyot-Cooper dictionaries, one of which, Cooper's *Thesaurus* (1565), translates *sua sponte* and *suapte natura* "of his owne accorde" and "of his owne nature." In some at least of the dictionaries, then, *his* gives place to *it* in the 1580's, and *it* gives place to *its* in the 1590's: unless *its* was quite common colloquially by the 1590's, the introduction of the form into a schoolbook at that time seems inexplicable.

A more interesting example of the value of the Renaissance dictionaries, especially as the handiest sources of plentiful quotations to supplement those in the *Oxford English dictionary*, is suggested by some remarks of Miss Rosemond Tuve in her *Elizabethan and meta-physical imagery*. Miss Tuve quotes Marston's verses "To euerlasting Obluion" from *The scourge of villanie* (1599):

Thou mighty gulfe, insatiate cormorant,
Deride me not, though I seeme petulant
To fall into thy chops.

"Marston's first image," Miss Tuve tells us, "would be the opposite of efficacious if the *gulf* remained long enough to swallow up the *cormorant*. . . . A poet's skill in muting his images must equal his skill in producing them. . . ." Examination of some Renaissance dictionaries along with the *OED* suggests that this image could be "muted" rather easily. *Cormorant* was a regular synonym for *glutton* (Baret, *Alvearie* [1580], C 1286; Holyband, *Dictionarie* [1593], s.v. "Galafre, galifre"; Cotgrave, *Dictionarie* [1611], s.v. "Galafre"; etc.), and *gulf* a regular translation for *gorges* and *gouffre*. *Gorges* and *gouffre*, moreover, appear in such entries as these from Cooper and Cotgrave:

Gurges & vorago patrimonij. Cic. An excedyng ryottour & outrageous waster of his patrimonie and heritage.

Ille gurges atque heluo. Cic. That vnsaciabie glutton. . . .

Vn gouffre d'argent. A most vnsatiabie swallow-wealth. . . .

If one adds to these quotations the citations in the *OED*, the conclusion is obvious that *gulf* and *cormorant* could be used of a person or a personified Oblivion without much danger that the image would be too concrete or vivid and that an Elizabethan *cormorant* or *gulf* could very well have *chops*.

The dictionaries, again, are valuable not only for the detailed linguistic information which they provide but for the clues they give to Renaissance thinking about language. Thus Baret's *Alvearie*, a "triple dictionary" in 1573 and a "lexicon tetraglottical" in 1580, presents a scheme for spelling reform which draws heavily on notions of Greek pronunciation stated by Sir John Cheke and Sir Thomas Smith. Cheke's "Saxonism" is well known and often overestimated; his ideas about language, as they appear in his controversy with Stephen Gardiner about Greek sounds, are less familiar but probably more important. There Cheke argues for a reform of modern Greek pronunciation; and in the course of his argument he develops the notion that in languages, as in the fruits of trees or as in human life itself, there is a period of highest perfection, from which any change will be decay. Cheke's idea is very like the cyclic theory of linguistic change, which, according to Professor Bateson (*English poetry and the English language*, p. 46), was first defined by Sir William Davenant in 1650.

Such clues as this supplied by Baret are common in the Renaissance dictionaries, which were closely connected with the technical and general literature of their time. The easiest examples of these connections can be drawn from the relations of the Latin-English and English-Latin lexicographers to the great naturalist, William Turner. So Turner in the fourth part of his famous *Herball* writes concerning the natures and properties of the baths of England

and follows Aetius in specifying the virtues of "the bathes of brimstone." His account was taken over by John Higgins in his *Dictionarie* (1572), a revision of Richard Huloet's *Abece-darium Anglico-Latinum* (1552), and passed thence into Higgins' tragedy of King Bladud (Lily Campbell, *Parts added to the Mirror for magistrates*, p. 140). Again, Sir Thomas Elyot in his *Dictionary* (1538) offered an identification of the hawk *pygargus*; Turner in his *Avium historia* (1544) made a different suggestion; and Gesner in his *Historia animalium* weighed the evidence and decided for Turner against Elyot. There are also a good many instances in which Turner's work on the names of birds and plants was appropriated by the lexicographers, especially Thomas Cooper, whose comments sometimes passed again to the later herbalists.

At this point the second feature of the recent studies in Renaissance lexicography may be noted. They have shown that no Renaissance dictionary can safely be studied in isolation; for, just as the dictionaries are intricately related to the technical and general literature of the time, so they are related among themselves and, doubtless, to the dictionaries of the fifteenth and earlier centuries, which are also attracting some attention. As Miss Smalley says (p. 52), "the amount of copying was almost incredible." Continental lexicographers of many nations—Nebrissensis, Calepine, Robert Estienne, Frisius—knew and used one another's works; and English lexicographers copied both among themselves and from their colleagues across the Channel, especially Estienne and Calepine. The result is that a single dictionary may have among its sources eight or ten others, and an entry which seems to reveal the personality of the compiler may be only one link in an almost endless chain of borrowings. A very striking instance may be found in two books which Miss Smalley discusses, the *Alvearie* and Estienne's *Dictionnaire françois-latin*, where Baret's apparently personal and characteristic etymologizing upon *Gaill* merely reproduces in English the French pun of Estienne; and similarly, if one may guess from the few excerpts which Professor Marckwardt

has already printed, it may be found that both Laurence Nowell and William Somner, whose *Dictionarium Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum* appeared in 1659, took some of their modern English renderings from the Latin-English lexicographers of the Elyot-Cooper tradition. Such a discovery might almost be predicted without evidence, since Professor Starnes, Miss Smalley, and others have shown that Florio and Cotgrave, dealing with modern foreign languages, and the makers of the first purely English dictionaries all used the earlier dictionaries of English and Latin.

Obviously, no one scholar can hope to find his way unaided through so many tangles; and, if the study of Renaissance lexicography is to go on successfully, as its results so far suggest that it should go on, co-operation is necessary so that a historically unified development may be seen in its unity, the significance of the dictionaries may be rightly estimated, and the creation of a folklore avoided. Miss Smalley's valuable book appears among the "Johns Hopkins studies in Romance literatures and languages," but it should be known also by students of English; it will not suffer if it is examined from more points of view than one.

Miss Smalley is quite aware that her subject is complicated, and she has made a most industrious effort to deal with its complexities. Randle Cotgrave's *Dictionarie of the French and English tongues* (1611) is one of the better-known works of its age and kind, "the chief source of what we know about Renaissance French." Miss Smalley sets herself an ambitious task: "to present Cotgrave in a just light, to interpret him in the world in which he lived and worked and with regard to what he attempted to do, as well as to point out in what ways he succeeded and in what ways and why he failed." In an introductory chapter she sums up what is known of Cotgrave's life and personality and outlines the methods by which he gathered his materials and arranged them in his book. Four chapters are then devoted to a detailed study of his sources: other dictionaries, "works on natural history, legal and medical texts, and literary and popular works." In a sixth chapter Miss Smalley pre-

sents a "Summary," certain "Conclusions," and an "Evaluation" of the *Dictionarie*.

All this, it must be repeated, required the greatest industry, hard work, and long work; and students of Renaissance lexicography owe Miss Smalley real gratitude. There is no reason to suppose that the outlines of her study need ever be much changed; but, like anyone who might undertake such an inquiry, she has committed a number of errors of fact and judgment, and these must be corrected before her book can safely and fruitfully be used. Most of them are due to the mere extent of the field which she has entered; some to the perhaps inevitable narrowing of the scope of her inquiry into that vast field and to the neglect of related investigations; a few apparently to carelessness or fatigue.

To begin with, a wider knowledge of the English-Latin and Latin-English dictionaries would have prevented overemphasis on Cotgrave's personality as it is said to appear in his book and on his supposed innovations in dictionary-making. Reading Miss Smalley's first chapter, "The author and his book," one gets no really clear impression of Cotgrave as an individual; he seems a fairly typical Renaissance lexicographer. His humor and fondness for a rhyme, his "diffused and fragmentary learning," his feeling for living words and his "gift of translation," his weighing and questioning of evidence—these qualities do not distinguish him from several of his predecessors; and that he "greatly extended" the procedures of lexicographers in his time is very doubtful. His convenient indentations of "locutions and examples of usage" on the printed page (Smalley, p. 38) were nothing new; if he improved upon Estienne by giving both masculine and feminine forms of French adjectives, he had the example of certain Latin-English lexicographers, who had given masculine, feminine, and neuter forms of Latin adjectives; he included many proverbs, but the 1580 *Alvearie* had been "enriched" with scores of these; his borrowing not only from one but from several earlier dictionaries was no innovation, for the makers of the *Alvearie* had copied from more than six; and, finally, if he included more technical

terms than earlier French dictionaries had done, the inclusion of such words had been a standard boast among Latin-English lexicographers since Sir Thomas Elyot.

As a matter of fact, the weakest portions of Miss Smalley's book are those that deal with the Latin-English and English-Latin dictionaries. Some of her mistakes, though small, are irritating and could easily have been avoided. Her spelling of the name of the "painefull preacher" and lexicographer, John Veron, seems unnecessarily eccentric (p. 27: "Varon"), and she nowhere mentions the later editions of Veron's small polyglot (1552), from the first of which (1575) the editor, Rudolph Waddington, omitted the French in deference to Baret and his *Alvearie* (cf. Kennedy, *A bibliography of writings on the English language*, which, like Baldwin's *Small Latine*, should have been known to Miss Smalley but apparently was not). Miss Smalley could find no instance of a bilingual dictionary published in England and arranged alphabetically earlier than Cooper's 1548 edition of Elyot's *Dictionary*; but the fifteenth-century *Promptorium parvulorum* and *Catholicon anglicum* are alphabetical and have long been edited. Miss Smalley does not mention the 1542 edition of the *Bibliotheca Eliotae* and states that no edition of Elyot's work earlier than 1548 was available to her: the 1538 and 1545 editions are widely available on University Microfilm. Thomas Thomas in his *Dictionarium*, which Miss Smalley cites only from the edition of 1644, although much earlier editions can be seen in libraries in this country, did not include "almost everything published by both Eliot and Cooper" (Smalley, p. 99); and to refer to the *Bibliotheca Eliotae*, Cooper's *Thesaurus*, and Thomas' *Dictionarium* as three editions of the same work (p. 102) is grossly misleading. In her bibliography of Renaissance dictionaries, finally, Miss Smalley had no good reason to enter the name of Huloet with a query; his *Abeccedarium* is also available in the United States.

These are very small mistakes and small omissions. The defects in Miss Smalley's treatment of the "hard-word dictionaries" and the

dictionaries of Baret and Holyband are more serious. It hardly matters that the spelling *Barrett* is adopted, though the man himself signed his dedicatory epistle *Baretus* and through his contemporaries knew him as *Baret* or *Barret*; modern writers, including the Venns (*Alumni Cantabrigienses*), have used Miss Smalley's spelling. She does not follow the Venns, however, as they would have informed her that Baret's will was proved in 1578, whereas she gives the date of his death as 1580. Naturally, Miss Smalley was unaware that the revision of the *Alvearie* for its 1580 edition was largely the work of Abraham Fleming; and, since she apparently examined only the revision, she could not know that the first edition already contained some Greek and that Fleming added more French in 1580. The "student exercises," moreover, which began the compilation of the *Alvearie* were not "based upon Estienne's dictionaries" (Smalley, p. 95); and, though some of the French undoubtedly came from Estienne's French-Latin work, rather extensive comparison suggests that Baret is often closer to Estienne's *Dictionariolum*: Miss Smalley might have paid more attention to works of Estienne other than "the various editions and redactions" of his *Dictionaire francoislatin*, especially since English lexicographers did not limit themselves as she has done. In any case she should have examined the repeated conjecture, strongly stated, for example, by Professor Austin Warren ("Claudius Hollyband: An Elizabethan schoolmaster," *Notes and queries*, CLXXVII [1939], 239), that the "M. Claudius" who helped Baret with his French was the French schoolmaster, Claudius Hollyband, of whom Miss Smalley otherwise has much to say. Despite the strength of Professor Warren's assertion, the conjecture has never been satisfactorily tested, and Miss Smalley has here missed an opportunity.

As for the "hard-word dictionaries," Miss Smalley might have pointed out that the "Epistle dedicatorie" to Florio's *World* might have encouraged Cotgrave to search out the "hard" French words; and, though she mentions Speght's "glossary of Chaucer," she does not mention E. K. or the "Vocabula

Chaucerians" in the *Grammatica Anglicana* of 1594. One may feel, too, a slight distortion in Miss Smalley's acceptance of Murray's statement: "No one appears before the end of the 16th century to have felt that Englishmen could want a dictionary to help them to the knowledge and correct use of their own language." It is somewhat surprising that Sir James is twice referred to as Sir John and that his "Romanes lecture" becomes a *Romance* lecture (Smalley, p. 238),¹ but it is more surprising that she did not take the hint in her quotation (p. 24) of a letter in which Peirese requests his brother to furnish him from England "quelque beau dictionnaire anglais-latin ou anglais-français." Englishmen *had* dictionaries which could help them to the knowledge and right use of their own tongue: they had, among others, the Latin-English dictionaries of Elyot and of Cooper, which had been prepared with full consciousness that they might be used for both languages and which were so used, as Sherry, Gesner, and Puttenham may remind us.

Miss Smalley's research was several years in progress. That fact may explain her failure to refer to the chapters on "hard-word dictionaries" in Starnes and Noyes's *English dictionary*. It does not explain the faults in her treatment of William Turner, which result in part from her use of the first edition (1912) of Agnes Arber's *Herbals*, when a revised edition was available from 1938. Miss Smalley nowhere does Turner real justice. To Gesner she attributes "the earliest of the manuals on plant names" (1542; Smalley, p. 153), without mentioning Turner's little volume of 1538, *Libellus de re herbaria novis, in quo herbarum aliquot nomina Greca, Latina, & Anglica habes, una cum nominibus officinarum*. Since she apparently confuses Turner's *Names of herbes* (1548) with his later and much more ambitious *Herball* (p. 113), she can speak of Gerard's *Herball* and Lyte's version of Dodoens as "the

two most important herbals in English" (p. 45); and one misses any reference to A. H. Evans' edition of *Turner on birds*, though Miss Smalley quotes Cotgrave's use of the word *sea-cob* (Smalley, p. 135), for which Turner supplies a very early instance. A glance at page 97 of the 1938 edition of Arber's *Herbals* would have prevented the statement (Smalley, p. 104) that it was chiefly for the physician Mattioli that the diplomat Busbecq brought back with him from Turkey the famous illustrated copy of Dioscorides, the *Codex Aniciae Julianae*.

If Miss Smalley's treatments of Baret, Holyband, the "hard-word dictionaries," and Turner are unsatisfactory, some of her detailed statements of sources and relations, even as she qualifies them (pp. 11 f.), are equally doubtful. Her concentration on the editions and redactions of Estienne's *Dictionnaire françoislatin* at the expense of other Estienne dictionaries causes several blunders. Sometimes (pp. 54, 79) she attributes Cotgrave's English to Cooper, Baret, or Thomas when it is closer to the Latin or French of Estienne's *Latino-Gallicum, Dictionariolum*, or even his *Petit dictionnaire*; and sometimes she argues from Estienne's alleged omission of certain words and definitions (*aubifoin*, p. 80; *acuité, adduire*, p. 96; *boucon*, p. 139), although those words and definitions are found in dictionaries of Estienne which she neglected. Though Miss Smalley rebukes Professor Starnes for his preoccupation with Thomas' *Dictionarium* as a source for Cotgrave (p. 51), she herself attributes to Thomas at least one English rendering (p. 77) which might have come as well from Cooper or Baret, misses Cooper as a source for part of Cotgrave's definition of *acroteres* (p. 78), and advances an argument for Cotgrave's use of the *Bibliotheca Eliotae* (pp. 101 f.) which will not stand when Estienne's *Dictionariolum* and Cooper's *Thesaurus* are more carefully examined.

With all its faults, Miss Smalley's book remains a creditable performance. Only its real value could justify such extended criticism.

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¹ There are slips or misprints on pp. 39, 51, 53, 95, 96, 101, 125, 153, 154, 211, 223, 231, 238, etc. Two of them may be troublesome. P. 53: to judge from the 1632 edition, Cotgrave's *hutch* (s.v. "Arche") has been misread as *butch*. P. 154: Higgins' translation of the *Nomenclator* was entered in the *Stationers' register* for October 12, 1583, not 1553.

The primary language of poetry in the 1640's.

By JOSEPHINE MILES. ("University of California publications in English," XIX, No. 1, 1-160.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1948.

The title of Miss Josephine Miles's book is somewhat deceptive, very attractive, her purpose altogether laudable. *Primary* must be argued from a definition of *poetry*, while *language* is now stretched and now restricted; but Miss Miles knows recent criticism and is rightly dissatisfied with current notions of poetic diction. Still using the statistical method of her earlier *Vocabulary of poetry*, she undertakes "to supplement knowledge of poetic language as it is thought to be with some reports on poetic language as it is found to be," to search out distinctive characteristics in the language of an era, of literary kinds or types, and of individual poets; for "time provides a bond for poets and type a continuity, and both a basis for invention."

In her first chapter, "The poetry of the 1540's and the 1640's," Miss Miles reviews her method, characterizes "the major poetic vocabulary of the 1640's" as contrasted with "the language of the preceding century," and presents statistics. Her tables show, for the 1540's and the 1640's, the meter, rhyme scheme, and "structure" of the poems examined; the average number of nouns, verbs, and adjectives in every ten lines of these poems; the "majority vocabulary" of words used ten times or more in a thousand lines by ten or more of the twenty poets chosen; the "minority vocabulary" of words so used by from four to nine of the poets; and the "individual uses" of favorite words by single poets. The figures are not impeccable. The nouns of the *English popular ballads* are listed both as thirteen and as twelve for each ten lines, the verbs of Shakespeare as eleven and ten, the nouns of Cowley as fourteen and thirteen; *begin*, *keep*, *live*, and *teach* do not qualify for the tables of minority vocabulary, since they were used the requisite number of times by only three poets, not four; and the fact is not impressive that Shakespeare in his sonnets frequently spoke of *love*: but figures laboriously gathered and laboriously

checked will overawe even the laborious reader. Chapter ii, "Twenty poets of the 1640's," deals with individuals. Miss Miles sets "the main tune" with Cowley and then turns, "surer of the norm, to some petty and some mighty opposites," the "Miltonic" and "Donnic" extremes. An unstatistical third chapter, "Materials and attitudes in prose," serves "to renew acquaintance with the common vocabulary in a different form, to note some theoretical backgrounds of the vocabulary, and to suggest by context and structure its several modes." In her second chapter, Miss Miles uses the word *paradox* over a dozen times; in chapter iii, she finds "the matrix of the decade's language" in "its sense of relationship between two worlds," and further suggests that the language of prose in the 1640's, which also tends to fall into two main types, is similar to the language of the poetry. The final chapter, "Critical attitudes and descriptive conclusions," applies the statistics of chapter i in a consideration of such matters as "the nature of the baroque in art," "the meaning of the term 'metaphysical,'" and "the nature of 'wit'"—questions which would seem to involve a good deal more than diction.

Perhaps a few of the statements in the text, as in the tables, may cause some qualms. Having extended the 1540's from Chaucer to Shakespeare, Miss Miles finds in Spenser "a new matter . . . the extreme of substantival emphasis, the 3 to 1 proportion"; but if we are to be statistical, the exact proportion of Spenser's nouns and adjectives to his verbs appears to be only 2.55 to 1, considerably smaller than that for Gavin Douglas. Again, Miss Miles sometimes reaches ostensibly significant results by translating her figures into more impressive language: that Jonson used few adjectives and many verbs is hardly grounds for saying that he "sighted the aesthetics of substance and quality." The more modest statement is safer that, of major nouns, verbs, and adjectives, it is the nouns which "vary most from poet to poet and from period to period" and that, "of twenty poets publishing in a decade, a majority agree in using a certain two dozen words more than any others and on

epitheting and predicating in certain limited though seldom identical proportions"; and most readers will probably find most value in the attempt to discriminate between two styles "which persist through the century" from the 1540's to the 1640's, "a Skelton, Wyatt, Jonson, Donne sort of predicative style and a Sackville, Spenser, Quarles, Waller, Milton sort of qualitative style." The commoner style in the 1640's is said to be the Donnic—"the poetry of relation, the predicated, subordinated, and reasoned," whereas the Miltonic extreme is "the scenic, the grand, the adjectival and substantival and participial, the extended rather than the argued." The opposition, as Miss Miles phrases and documents it, is both old and new.

Her results, indeed, are less important than the nature of her evidence, her assumptions and procedure. Brevity is tempting. Modern critics have reduced poetry to diction, modern linguists have turned their backs on poetry: modern criticism has become a linguistic inquiry conducted by men who are not linguists. Modern linguistics is a science, modern science has more prestige than modern poetry: modern critics either exalt poetry as somehow superior to science or attempt to apply the methods of science where they are not applicable.

But two sentences no more fairly represent Miss Miles than the formula 8-15-11 represents the poetry of Carew. She begins, apparently, with a great love of words for their own sake; so her method and style would indicate, as well as particular judgments like that which she once passed on Arnold, who "was deeply in earnest about seeing things and works of art as wholes, rather than in partial effects, but . . . had little vivid sense of the facts the wholes might be comprised of" (*Vocabulary of poetry*, p. 276). Miss Miles is also in earnest about seeing works of art as wholes (in her second chapter the word *structure* outnumbers *paradox* by almost two to one), but her discussions of whole poems are not very successful. Her paraphrase of "Lycidas," for example, is almost parody, and it leads, by way of comparison with an elegy of Donne, to the statement that "what there is of thought of sorrow and dis-

may is resolved by the beds of flowers, the choirs of angels, the twitching of the mantle blue."

Miss Miles's study seems partly motivated, in the second place, by a desire for "an incorruptible objectivity" beyond the reach of ordinary footnotes. On the principle that "proportions once poetically felt, and then numerically discovered, may be poetically reperceived," Miss Miles has adopted "the standard of verifiability for the description of the decade's poetry." For at least one reader, however, her statistics did not lead to poetic reception but to a fruitless absorption in grammatical minutiae, perhaps because the effects of poems do not lend themselves to incorruptibly objective determination. And the authority of Professor Fries and his *American English grammar*, which Miss Miles used in 1946 to defend her figures, does not help matters; it only suggests the equally authoritative statement of Fernand Mossé: "C'est en effet le sort des études de syntaxe historique d'avoir toujours à tenir compte de questions de style où le qualitatif l'emporte sur le quantitatif."

As a matter of fact, Miss Miles's "objectivity" should not be overestimated. Her data, as she says, are verifiable, but only if one assumes, among other things, certain "structural" distinctions into narrative, argument, song, address, etc., an elementary prosody, a set of grammatical categories semantically defined and recognizable by their definitions, and, most spectacularly, the equivalence of the units counted. Even then one is not done with assumptions. The claim of verifiability has meaning if the statistics are worth verifying; but from Miss Miles's tables as premises only further tables can be derived unless other sets of premises are introduced, and these other sets she largely borrows from current notions which are not founded on statistics.

So one arrives at the platitude that statistics are worth as much and as little as the theoretical framework within which they are interpreted. Miss Miles defines poetry as "a human production in which form celebrates value and makes it most weighty." Since different ages have different values, it follows, as she

wrote in the *Vocabulary of poetry*, that "the 'poetic' is whatever a poem manages to be; in any one time, and as a critical term, that is poetry which is called poetry and that is poetic which one seems to find meaningful and suitable to poetry." One would expect Miss Miles, on the basis of this definition, to say a great deal of critical theory in the 1640's, but she seems to distrust the judgment of conventional critics and common readers. "Accepted literary scholarship," "Elizabethan rhetorics or Augustan surveys or Victorian impressions" do not provide "a description of the functioning of parts in frequency and relation, which shall arrive at the whole dense and lively nature of the composition" (*Vocabulary of poetry*, p. 307). Rather the means "must necessarily be observation as detailed, enumeration as careful, separation of units as distinct, though as provisional, as possible" (*ibid.*, pp. 2 f.).

Of course a great question is what parts and what units, countable or not, one should recognize, and a different attitude toward "Elizabethan rhetorics or Augustan surveys" might have enabled Miss Miles to raise other and more significant questions than those with which she concerns herself. If she takes her departure from critical commonplaces or, more distinctively, from parts of speech, from major words or sentence-types, it is because she accepts the currently popular reduction of poetry to diction. Poetry celebrates the poets' values, to which their "major vocabulary" provides a clue; moreover, "the force of poetic form works most specially in sound," and "the difference between a large and a small number of substantial terms . . . makes, since predication remains relatively constant, for a proportionate difference in the power of the predicate, and thence for the difference between clausal and phrasal sentence pattern, between punctuated and flowing sound." Here, one supposes, is the justification for the tables; for Miss Miles's insistence that her study of the material of poetry is a "formal study"; for her attempt to define the poetry of the 1640's in terms of words, meters, and sentence-types.

Naturally Miss Miles defends and has defended the close limitation of her studies as

essential to their success. The present volume is restricted "to brief periods in English poetry, and to some of the main emphases of the poetry." It is "a superficial history," in the sense that surfaces, themselves describable, may make a further indication of depths." So they may; yet one is surprised to find that although the word *language* is stretched to allow for statements of metrical form and the like, the traditional materials of linguistic history, which certainly seem relevant, are neglected. Very little is said about syntax, and nothing about morphology or phonology, despite the stated importance of "sound" to poetry; nor is satisfactory evidence adduced for the statement that the language of Miss Miles's twenty poets of the 1640's was also "the language of thought and expression, of belief and communication."

It is somewhat difficult, then, without a wider background than Miss Miles constructs, to see in her statistics any great significance for the linguist, the critic, or the literary historian. Some of her exclusions are particularly strange; and even within her chosen limits it is not easy, finally, to see precisely what she has counted. Her basic distinctions would become questionable if one refused the easy assertion that "as adjective and noun present substance, so predicate presents relationship and response"; but that assertion will not pass the test of an easy experiment: in the first five or six lines of *Paradise lost* a few words can be so changed that the proportion of nouns and adjectives to verbs will decrease substantially, while the sense is very little altered. The parts of speech cannot be simply defined as words of substance and quality, of relationship and response; and even within the parts of speech, Miss Miles does not discriminate among the many meanings of her common words like *day* and *earth*: *God* and the *gods* are lumped together.

Miss Miles's earlier studies have won some favorable attention, and her wide reading has given her a sense of certain basic needs and problems; but her method seems unlikely to provide solutions. One is driven to conclude, in the words of her *Vocabulary of poetry*: "This may be considered abstraction carried to

Wordsworth's point: its similarity to imagination."

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Nathaniel Hawthorne. By RANDALL STEWART.
New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press,
1948. Pp. vii + 279.

For nearly two decades Professor Stewart has been offering evidence to challenge the sentimental interpretation of Hawthorne's life and personality—that interpretation which, often through sweeping biographical inferences from the tales, saw the writer as a pixie-like recluse, ill at ease outside his private world of the imagination. Now, in a sane and illuminating biography, Stewart sums up his findings and, drawing largely upon the Hawthorne notebooks and letters, essays his own portrait of the novelist. The Hawthorne emerging here is a hard-working professional man of letters, a devoted husband and father, and a perceptive observer of things and persons. The friendships he forms are notable for their depth and duration. He is bothered, but not baffled, by money difficulties. He is actively interested in politics and becomes increasingly knowledgeable in such political realities as the manipulation of patronage. He is a reasonably efficient government official, an inveterate and tireless traveler, and, late in life, a reluctant but successful public speaker.

Because the years from 1825 to 1837, when Hawthorne was living quietly in Salem and patiently mastering his craft, have afforded unusual opportunity for biographical flights of fancy, Stewart's treatment of this period is particularly useful. He is able to demonstrate that these so-called "solitary years" of apprenticeship to literature were also years of quite normal human experiences: family parties, friendships, and frequent journeys through New England. He does not overlook, however, Hawthorne's well-known "haunted chamber" letter to his fiancée, Sophia Peabody, in which the novelist himself testified that his had been a lonely and

despondent youth. While not questioning the emotional sincerity of this statement, the biographer points out that a love letter is not necessarily the most reliable evidence as to how Hawthorne lived and felt before he met Sophia. In a subsequent chapter dealing with Hawthorne's courtship, Stewart suggests tactfully that Sophia and her sister Elizabeth were not unwilling to foster the impression that they had plucked the young romancer from his magic circle of solitude. On at least one occasion, he reminds us, Elizabeth Peabody felt that her sister's new friend was not enough of a hermit to satisfy her own strict notions of artistic dedication; she wrote: "I wonder what sort of preparation he finds an evening of whist for the company of the Muse."

Throughout the remainder of the book Stewart continues to reinforce this major theme. Describing the novelist's two years in the Berkshires, when he first met Herman Melville, the biographer reports: "One looks in vain for evidence of social isolation in the Berkshires." And so, later on, he finds a Hawthorne who had a wide circle of friends in England during the period of his Liverpool consulship and a Hawthorne who impressed the children's governess with his witty affability during the travels in Italy of 1858-59.

Because of this emphasis, it is inevitable that much of the narrative has to do with such matters as Hawthorne's political activities (they were more hardheaded than has commonly been supposed), the various government appointments, the campaign biography for Pierce, and his attitude toward slavery and the Civil War. It is also true that this distribution of interest allows for little close discussion of the unique activity which set Hawthorne apart from other consuls and customs-house officials—the novels and stories themselves. We learn a good deal about times and places of composition, about relations with publishers, and about contemporary reaction to some of the books; but the works themselves are not really discussed in the course of the narrative, except for a brief *excursus* justifying the use of allegory in

Mosses from an old manse. There is, however, a concluding chapter, "The collected works," in which the biographer treats certain seminal ideas which Hawthorne frequently turned to in his fiction. This chapter is an orderly, brief summary of the novelist's attitude toward, and use of, such themes as the Puritan tradition, science, and the tragedy of individual isolation.

Within the limits, then, that Stewart has set for himself, this new biography affords a clear and judicious account of Hawthorne's

career. It is straightforward and concise in exposition and well proportioned in the attention that it gives to different stages in its subject's life. One can but regret, however, that a book which is bound to remain for some time to come a definitive biographical study of a major American writer had to be issued with such skimpy documentation—only a slender bibliography and a scattering of footnotes.

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